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NOTE-BOOK

OF THE

LATE CIVIL WAR IN SWITZERLAND.

CHIEFLY FOR THE USE OF TRAVELLERS
IN THAT COUNTRY

BY

THE REV. M. J. MAYERS, M. A.,

VICAR OF LANGHAM EPISCOPI, NORFOLK.

LONDON,

JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

ZURICH,

F. H A N K E.

1848.

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IN THAT COUNTRY
LATE CIVIL WAR IN SWITZERLAND.

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PREFACE.

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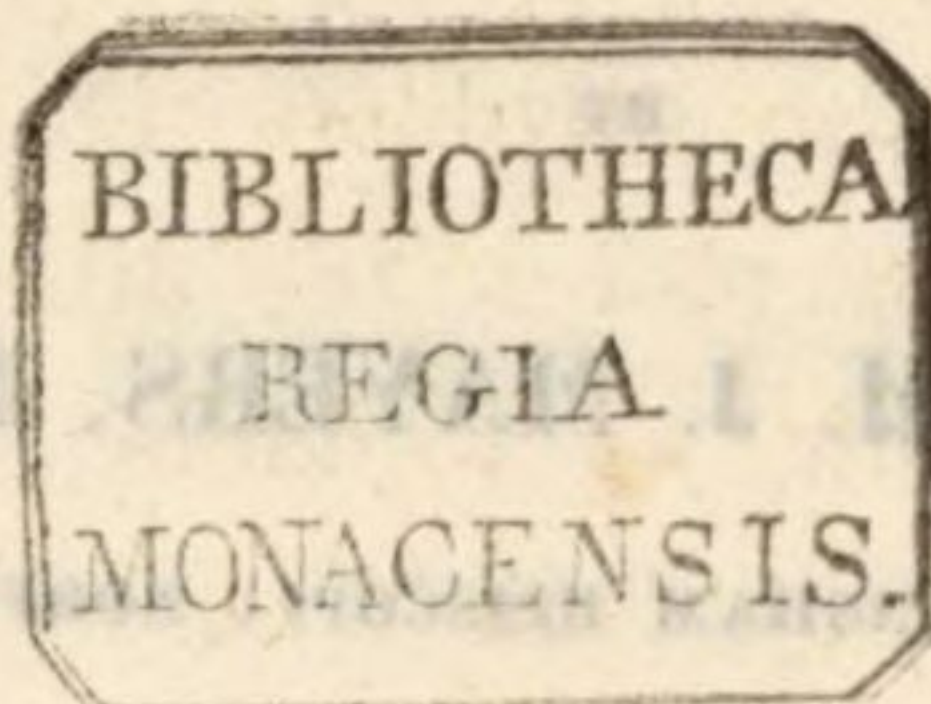
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THESE FOR THE USE OF THE
IN THAT COUNTRY



LONDON,
JOHN W. BARNES, WEST STRAND

PRINTED BY
1848

P R E F A C E.

Our loco-motive age — if it moves not the Righi and the Montblanc from their rocky foundations — moves, nevertheless annually, vast multitudes of English travellers to the top of the one, and to the foot of the other. Steam, is in our days doing its wonders; and by its agency, in little more than three or four days, travellers are being conveyed from the shores of England, into the very midst of the Alpine scenery of Switzerland. Hence, of late years the number of tourists in that country has been greatly on the increase; and during every summer thousands may be seen on the move, to visit its wild mountain-scenery, its lakes, glaciers, and waterfalls. In a very little while, and the return of the fine season, will bring

its full tide of travellers into every part of Switzerland ; and its mountain-passes and secluded valleys, which are now so dreary and lonely, will again teem with busy and joyous multitudes, in search of amusement and adventure.

But, in the approaching season, it may fairly be supposed, that, apart from the ordinary and natural objects of attraction, other and additional points of interest, will be likely to engage the attention of, at least, a large class of travellers in Switzerland. That country has, of late, been the theatre of momentous events, which are of European importance. And it cannot fail, that those political questions which so recently and violently agitated the country, and ended in the late civil war ; will be special objects of attention and investigation to most of the tourists. With a view, then, of supplying the necessary data and materials for such inquiry — and for visiting the spots of the principal military operations — the writer has been led to undertake the publication of the following pages ; in which he has

endeavoured, to present an historical synopsis of the political disputes which gave rise to the war, as well as a description of the actual scenes of conflict. And in immediate connection with that description, the writer has, here and there, introduced some local information, or historical recollections, which he considered as likely to be of interest to the reader; and which are not to be found in the guide-books, ordinarily in use among English travellers.

Zurich, 18. February 1848.

INTRODUCTION.

The political disputes and dissensions, which, for some years past, have troubled and disturbed the peace of the whole of Switzerland, and ultimately issued in the late civil war; are of a nature so intricate and perplexing, as to be scarcely intelligible even to a great majority of the natives themselves, much less, it may fairly be supposed, to foreigners in general. It is, therefore, proposed, by way of introduction to the following description of the contest, to present an historical sketch of the origin and progress of the differences, which led to — what, in the 19th century, especially is the more painful — catastrophe, that of an armed conflict between men of the same country and with kindred interests and institutions. And, in order to afford the reader the fullest materials for forming an opinion on the merits of the questions at issue, it is deemed necessary, in our historical survey,

to go back as far as the year 1815; when Switzerland, at the general pacification of Europe, received a new constitution, under which she is now placed.

Up to that period, the Helvetic-Confederation consisted of 19 Cantons, organised in the year 1803 by the Act of Mediation of Napoleon Bonaparte; who assumed to himself the title of Protector of the Swiss Republic. But, by the treaty of Vienna, of the 19th March 1815, — the Act of Mediation being abolished, and three new Cantons, those of Geneva, Neufchatel, and the Valais added to the Confederation — another constitution was given to Switzerland; whereby her political independence and territorial inviolability were fully recognised and established. This constitution guaranteed the independence and sovereignty of each of the 22 cantons of the Confederation; the supreme and directing authority being assigned to the Diet, which is to assemble annually and alternately at Berne, Zurich, and Lucerne; and to which is given the exclusive power of entering into relations with foreign States, except in particular cases of capitulations, which may be concluded by individual cantons, authorising their citizens to enlist in the service of other lands. It was also provided, by the constitution, that no separate alliance should be formed among any of the cantons, which might be to the prejudice of the Confederation at large; and that the permanent existence of all the

monastic establishments and ecclesiastical institutions of the country should be guaranteed and secured.

It was, however, soon discovered, that this new constitution, or Federal Pact, as it is usually called, owing to its many defects and anomalies, failed to work well, for all practical purposes; and proved, in many respects ill adapted to the progressive tendencies of the times. One of its chief blemishes was felt to be the manner in which each canton is equally represented in the Diet by a single vote: irrespective of population and other circumstances. Thus, the canton of Berne, with its population of 450000, is placed, in the national Assembly, on a level with the canton of Uri, with its 15000 inhabitants; the former contributing to the military contingent five and twenty times as much as the latter. Hence it has oftentimes occurred in the Diet, that a majority of votes, representing less than a third of the entire population of the whole country, was enabled to obstruct measures of legislation which involved the interests of the rest of the community; but which was represented only by a minority of votes. And that such state of things gave rise to much jealousy, ill-feeling, heart-burning, and party - spirit needs scarcely to be pointed out. Especially was it found that, not only the common interests but also the political opinions of the smaller and primitive cantons came more and more into collision with those of the larger and more recently created

ones. In the one, there existed a disposition to cling to old institutions and recollections and to pursue a stationary line of policy; while, in the other, it was felt, that »old things had passed away«, and that the time had come for progression and improvement.

Thus, the country became divided into two great political sections; whose antagonistic principles however, were not called out into more decided activity and collision, until the memorable year of 1830, when the second French Revolution took place. That convulsion, which seemed to arouse the whole of Europe, and spread the revolutionary mania far and wide; produced also its effects in Switzerland. Most of the cantons were driven to the work of reform, and which was generally effected without blood-shed; though, oftentimes with considerable intimidation — by popular demonstrations and meetings — which the cantonal authorities were unable to resist. By the changes which were thus introduced, the governments in most of the cantons, became more decidedly democratic and popularised. Up to this period, political power and privilege rested chiefly in the hands of a few patrician families, inhabiting the great towns, such as Berne, Basle, and others; while the country districts were actually without any influence in the administration of affairs. In the rural and minor cantons, there existed likewise privileged classes, in the larger communes, which held those of the smaller in subjection

and exclusion from all share of political power. This system of inequality was now broken up. The privilege of town over country, which was the principal feature in the former oligarchical governments, was first diminished and then entirely swept away; the sovereignty of the people was fully recognised, and universal suffrage generally introduced*). Hence arose the two distinctive terms of »Conservatives« and »Radicals«, which have ever since served to describe the two opposite parties in the politics of the country; the former being applied to those, who held fast to ancient privilege; the latter to those who had successfully carried forward the measures of reform.

But it came to pass very soon, that to the topics of political strife, points of religious differences were added, to widen the breach between the two contending parties, to embitter and inflame the public mind the more; and to bring about results of the most disastrous nature. Whether the existence of the Roman Catholic Church was really menaced by the Radicals, or, whether an alarm to that effect was merely raised by the Conservatives, to awaken and enlist in their favour the religious prejudices of the people; and thus

*) In some Cantons a formal separation was effected between town and country, as in Basle, or between manufacturing and agricultural districts, as in Appenzell; whereby a division of territory took place and a distinct government given to each section.

to rally their broken and shattered strength and triumph over their adversaries, it were not easy to say for want of sufficient data. It is certain, however, that a general impression was produced — if not an actual cry raised — »that the Church was in danger«; and which immediately led not only to an increased activity on the part of the Romish priesthood, but called forth, in general, confessional jealousies and animosities, for a long time unknown in Switzerland.

The first overt act of aggression committed, was on the part of the Radicals in the canton of Argovie. The peace of that canton had been disturbed towards the close of the year 1840, by an insurrectionary movement against the local government; which was known to have been fomented and abetted by the inmates of the convent of Muri. This was considered too fine an opportunity to lose, without carrying into effect a measure, which appears to have been contemplated for some time past, by the authorities, namely, the suppression of all the monastic establishments of the canton. And, accordingly, a proposal to that effect was submitted to the Grand-Council at its meeting on 13th January 1841, by one of its members, M. Keller, the Director of the Roman Catholic Seminary in Argovie, and which was immediately adopted; and executed, under aggravating circumstances without loss of time. That this measure was a daring and flagrant violation of the Charter, or Federal Pact, is admitted by the

Radicals themselves. The 12th Article of the Constitution provides: „That the cantons shall not have the right or power to suppress any convent, against the will, or without the consent of such monastic establishment.“ The grounds on which the government of Argovie sought to justify its *coup d'etat*, was the danger it apprehended from the constant machinations and political intrigues, which were fostered and matured in the convents. But it is quite clear, that it would have been easy for the government, by the ordinary operation of the law, to punish the guilty on conviction, without resorting to a positive infraction of the constitution. It is quite true, that history presents many examples of the sequestration and seizure of Church-property, without other pretext than the conveniency or the necessity of the despoiler. We find, indeed, that Kings, and States, and Nobles, and even ecclesiastical Powers have, from time to time, unlawfully suppressed various monastic establishments. Still, the plea of one wrong in extenuation of another, will, in no wise, be acknowledged as satisfactory and valid. And when the government of Argovie was urged upon these points, in the discussions of the question before the Diet; its Deputy fell back upon the shelter of the cantonal sovereignty and independence; in virtue of which that State claimed the right of administering its own internal affairs, without being subject to any control or interference from without. Yet,

it is very obvious, that, as a member of the Confederation, Argovie, in common with the other cantons, is placed under certain federal obligations and restrictions; and pledged to the inviolate observance of all the conditions of the Pact, which unequivocally and permanently guarantees the existence and security of the convents.

It must be admitted then, by every candid and unbiassed mind, that Argovie, by its aggression on the ecclesiastical property of the country, seriously compromised the peace of the Confederation and laid the foundation for all the subsequent federal dissensions and troubles. The majority of the Roman-Catholic population beheld in the wanton suppression of the convents, a deliberate attack on the existence of their Church and its religious institutions; and it seems, that an influential portion of the most enlightened Protestants shared also in that feeling. It was as though a firebrand had been thrown into every corner of the land to kindle the flames of religious and political animosity. It was scarcely possible to describe the prodigious sensations, which that measure created not only throughout Switzerland, but also in some of the Roman Catholic countries of Europe. The French and the Austrian Ambassadors, as well as the Papal Nuncio, made strong representations to the Diet against the act of spoliation. And what contributed doubtless still more to embroil the question and to raise the

prevailing exasperation to a higher pitch, was the indecision and vacillating conduct of the Diet; which, instead of interposing its rightful authority to vindicate the claims of the constitution and to redress the act of injustice, seemed rather to connive at the unlawful measure of Argovie; and by manifesting its impotence, or disregard of all constitutional right, to hold out encouragement to further infringements on the Pact and to other illegal proceedings. For, what estimate could well be formed of the character and the sense of right of an Assembly, invested with the supreme power and authority in the commonwealth, which, by its resolution of the 2nd April 1841, expressed its opinion that the suppression of the monasteries by Argovie was incompatible with the 12th article of the Pact, and that it invited that canton to act in conformity with that article; and yet, which two years later, on the 31st August 1843, came to the decision, that Argovie, having restored some of the convents of nuns, the question was now to be considered as finally and satisfactorily settled.

It might hence have been expected and foreseen, that the Ultra-catholic-party, being left by the Diet without protection in its interests would, in order to oppose the perpetually increasing and aggressive power of the Radicals, speedily adopt some measure of its own to strengthen its position. And such was actually in preparation in a brief space of time. The govern-

ment of Lucerne resolved to introduce the Jesuits, to entrust them with the care of its educational establishments; and to use them, from their well-known tact and activity, as a fence, so to speak, against any attempted encroachments of the Radicals. And though the proposal met with considerable and formidable opposition from the liberal party in the Grand-Council, and throughout the canton; yet it was ultimately adopted. It would, perhaps, not have been in the power of the author of evil to have devised a scheme more pregnant with mischievous results, and more likely to inflame the popular mind at that particular period of time, and under all the existing circumstances of the country, than this ill-advised proposal of introducing the Jesuits into Lucerne. It was well known, that the defeat which the Radicals had just sustained in the canton of the Valais, was chiefly to be ascribed to the activity and instrumentality of the Jesuits; and who were, otherwise, known to be the most formidable and influential opponents of that party in other sections of the country. Beside, it was clearly intimated, that the call of the Jesuits to Lucerne was intended as a set off against the suppression of the convents and as an act of defiance of the Liberal, or Radical party; and consequently the note of agitation was immediately struck. It was again Argovie which raised the storm. The same individual, M. Keller who first proposed in the Grand-Council of that

canton, the suppression of the convents, now stepped forward to ask for the expulsion of the Jesuits from the country. The Diet, it is true, refused to interfere when the question was first submitted to its decision; but throughout the whole country, it was turned into a topic of the most violent agitation. The Radical press, as well as the Clubs and the most popular agitators, did their utmost to inflame the public mind; to denounce the Jesuits in the most vehement terms, as the enemies of the country and the disturbers of its peace, and to demand their immediate expulsion from every part of the Confederation.

That Lucerne, in point of constitutional law and right, was fully entitled to call the Jesuits, or any other ecclesiastical order to the direction of its educational institutions, no one will be prepared to question. It was somewhat barefaced on the part of Argovie, which showed such great tenacity and jealousy of its independence and cantonal sovereignty as to admit no interference in the question of the convents, should yet be the first and loudest in impugning and denying the same privileges to Lucerne in the question of the Jesuits. Lucerne, in admitting the order of Jesus, was guilty of no breach of constitutional law, as Argovie was in the suppression of the convents. All that can be laid to the charge of Lucerne is, that it committed a political blunder; that it acted, not illegally, but unwisely, and furnished the Radical party with a

powerful and popular engine of agitation. From a variety of considerations, the conduct of Lucerne must be pronounced as most impolitic, if not infatuated. There existed at this time as was observed before—in the public mind, a strong feeling of repugnance against the Jesuits in general; and it was likely to be aggravated by their introduction into Lucerne in particular. Lucerne, it is to be observed, is possessed of a loftier attribute than any ordinary canton. It is one of the three directing and executive cantons; and in its turn the Vorort—the presiding canton of the whole of Switzerland, whose population is chiefly Protestant. And for Lucerne to entrust the education and political influence of the canton to a society so abhorred and considered so extreme as the Jesuits — a society, moreover, expressly and avowedly instituted for the purpose of up-rooting and exterminating the Protestant faith, and persecuting to the death all its professors — must be pronounced a measure calculated to awaken the strongest feeling of exasperation and opposition. Indeed, some of the principal and wisest men of the canton, foreseeing the storm which the measure would raise in the country, and all the evil consequences which would follow from its adoption, resisted it to the last. And when it was finally resolved upon in the Grand-Council, a strong feeling of discontent was manifested throughout the canton, by the Liberal minority. So decidedly and openly was this discontent

expressed, that, when the measure became the law of the canton, the government caused several persons to be arrested and imprisoned, who were known to be opposed to the admission of the Jesuits.

In truth, all parties seemed to feel the mischievous policy of the Lucerne government in introducing that Order into the canton; and the disturbing effect it was likely to produce on the peace of the Confederation. This appears evident from the fact, that even those cantons, which, in the first instance, took no part in the agitation against the Jesuits — from a scrupulous feeling of respect for the cantonal sovereignty and independence — still felt constrained to address Lucerne, in terms of friendly advice and admonition, and warning it of the evil consequences of its resolution. Thus, the Grand-Council of Zurich, in the month of December 1844, when that government was still under Conservative direction, adopted the following resolution: „That the Deputy from Zurich be instructed, in the name of his canton, to express the conviction, that the Order of Jesus contributes, by its doctrines as well as by its missions to embitter the mutual relations between the Protestant and Catholic Churches in Switzerland; and that, therefore, it exercises a disturbing influence on the political harmony of the nation. The canton of Zurich expresses its regret, that some cantons have admitted that Order, and declares its wish, in the spirit of confederate brotherhood, that these

cantons may give up their connection with the Jesuits, and that their fellow Catholic cantons may of their own accord abandon the further extension of that Order." Geneva, and other cantons, it is well known, shared in the same opinions, though they were not so unequivocally expressed.

If then, for the reasons assigned, it appears, that the proceeding of the authorities of Lucerne, in reference to the Jesuits, was a political error of the most serious kind, it is equally certain that the next step taken — and as a sequence — by the Radicals, was a political crime and of the darkest character. When it was found, that the Diet had refused to treat the question of the Jesuits as a federal question and to interfere in the matter; the Radicals, not so easily baffled or checked in their purposes, resolved on taking the law into their own hands. The minority of the canton of Lucerne, who had resisted the admission of the Jesuits, and, on that account, had become exposed to the persecution of the local authorities, conspired with the extreme radical party of Argovie and other neighbouring states, to overthrow the government, and to expel that Order by force of arms. Lawless bands of volunteers, to the amount of several thousands, collected together from the cantons of Argovie, Basle-campagne, and Berne — and therefore designated the *Free - Corps* — and invaded twice the territory of Lucerne. It were not possible to describe in terms

sufficiently reprehensible and severe those expeditions of the Free-Corps, undertaken on 8th December 1844, and 1 April 1845; and which will ever leave a stigma on the parties that instigated and engaged in them. The invasion of an independent territory by a promiscuous horde of armed men, without other authority and purpose than what they derived from their own lawless will and combination, is a most flagrant and atrocious outrage. The horrors that were committed in both expeditions are a disgrace to, and a foul blot upon a civilised age and people. Indeed, the voice of all Europe has long since pronounced its sentence of reprobation upon those unhappy scenes and all the actors that took part in them. But the crime as it oftentimes happens in the retributive dealings of God even in this world, proved its own punishment. Miserable was the issue of both expeditions. Hundreds fell and perished ignominiously on the field of conflict; while hundreds of citizens of the canton of Lucerne that were compromised as taking part with the invaders, were exiled, or imprisoned and deprived of all their earthly substance.

That those aggressions of the Free-Corps tended, in reality, to weaken the position of the Radical-party; and to strengthen that of the Jesuit, or Ultra-montane faction, needs no argument to prove, but appears self-evident. No act of provocation in any of the preceding circumstances can possibly be alleged to palliate the

guilt of those expeditions. It became manifest, that the Radical-party was unscrupulous in the use of its means for the attainment of its ends; that it owned no law, or sense of right to bind it; and that it acted on the mere impulse of blind and arbitrary passion. Hence the Ultra-Catholic party gained in the sympathies and estimation of the public, and found supporters in a numerous class of Protestant Conservatives, who can, otherwise, scarcely be suspected of any predilection in its behalf. — And hence it was too, that the sepearte League, or the Sonderbund, which had been formed, for some time past, by the seven Roman-Catholic cantons, attracted at first very little public notice; and was regarded not as an unconstitutional but as a protective alliance, rendered necessary by the exigencies of the times. When it is considered that the aggressive attitude, which the Radical party had first taken in the canton of Argovie against the Church of Rome, was allowed constantly to gather more strength and to extend its operations; and that the Diet looked on without taking any decisive step to check the innovating tendencies, or to redress the wrong committed; it must be owned, that, in this state of things great excuse is to be found for the original creation of the Sonderbund; as a purely defensive alliance to protect itself against acts of violence and unconstitutional encroachments. At the same time, it is worthy of notice, that the Sonderbund was not the

sequence following upon the expeditions of the Free-Corps, but essentially the product, or the re-actionary movement of the suppression of the convents.

It is certain, and well known, that the Sonderbund originated in a conference that was held at Rothen, near Lucerne between certain Deputies from that canton and from Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug and Friburg, on the 13th and 14th September 1843; and a very few days after the Diet had adopted its resolution, to the effect, that the question of the convents was to be considered as finally settled. At that meeting of the Deputies from the six Roman-Catholic cantons — and to which the representative of the Valais was afterwards admitted — the preliminary articles of a separate League were agreed upon, for the purpose of drawing together a closer bond of union between those seven States; and for the protection and defence of the separate interests of their church. One of the principal objects which engaged the attention of the conference was the question of the convents, what steps were to be taken to insure their restitution; and it would seem, that certain intimations were given by Siegwart-Müller — the Deputy from Lucerne and the very soul and life of the League — of an existing intention of effecting a formal separation from the Confederation; and dividing Switzerland into two sections, by forming a Protestant and a Roman Catholic part.

Such was the origin of the Sonderbund projected

and framed many months before the peace of the canton of Lucerne had been disturbed by the irruption of the Free-Corps. No doubt that unhappy catastrophe and the violent agitation that was raised against the Jesuits, supplied the parties with additional grounds and reasons for strengthening and consolidating their alliance; and for giving it a more definite form and organisation. It assumed in its further development and maturity all the characteristics of a systematic, well-ordered, closely-bound and armed League, or confederacy of the seven cantons; intended to stand opposed to the Diet in threatening array, and to battle for its own separate interests. It became soon evident, from the extreme direction taken by the authors and leaders of the Sonderbund, that their object was not defensive and protective, but in reality aggressive and offensive; to set themselves against every effort of rational and constitutional freedom, to stifle every movement of a liberal policy, to subjugate the people to the spiritual despotism of the worst species of Ultramontaniam; and thus to render the continuance of the League incompatible with the peace and order of the community and with the existing institutions of the Confederation. It needs but a brief reference to the state of the Sonderbund-cantons, at that period of time, to become impressed with this conviction. In those cantons where the Jesuits held unbroken sway, in Friburg and Schwytz, every movement or tendency,

which seemed to be at variance with the opinions of the Ultra-catholic party, was instantly arrested and crushed. In the Valais, the authorities went even the length of proscribing the exercise of public worship according to the rites of the reformed Church. The government of Lucerne suspended the liberty of the press, introduced a system of secret espionage; sent hundreds of its most patriotic citizens into exile, and ruled by the law of terror. Indeed, it were hard to describe the fearful change that had come over that canton; during the dominancy of the Sonderbund government and since the introduction of the Jesuits. They seemed to have transformed Lucerne from a mild and happy community of the nineteenth century, into one of those civic dens called Italian Republics, in which the people persecuted, proscribed, and murdered each other. A dark spirit seemed to brood over the whole land. Terror entered into every village and presided almost in every household. This was so evident and notorious, that the governments of several cantons made repeated but vain representations to the authorities of Lucerne; to desist from extreme and rigorous measures and to introduce a milder system of administration.

And withal, it is worthy of observation, that the Sonderbund, not only assumed an unconstitutional character, as being incompatible with the 6th Article of the Pact, which provides, „that no separate alliance

shall be formed among any of the cantons, to the prejudice of the whole confederation"; but it appears to have been also locally and fundamentally illegal. With the exception of Friburg, no other government had submitted the question of forming the separate alliance to the decision of the Grand-Council, or to the veto of the people; without whose sanction no measure of the kind can be legally adopted and carried into effect. So that, on this ground even, apart from any others, the Sonderbund was a nullity and without legal right or weight.

Now, in the degree in which these points laid hold on the public mind, whether, as it regarded the hateful activity of the Jesuits, or the unconstitutional character of the Sonderbund; the feeling of exasperation, throughout the country, rose every day and knew no bounds. Political rancour intermingled with religious intolerance produced such an intense spirit of bitterness, as to make it evident that a crisis was near at hand. The public mind had become inflamed to that pitch, and the wildest passions set in motion; that a collision between the conflicting elements appeared unavoidable. It may be supposed that the state of excitement and fermentation in the country increased and rose in the degree in which it became manifest, that the Sonderbund-cantons prepared for an armed resistance to the authority of the Diet. Long before that Assembly had come to any decision with respect to

the seven allied cantons, or proposed any coercive measures to be adopted against them, the governments of the League made formidable warlike preparations; their officers absent on foreign service were re-called, a supply of arms and ammunition, on a large scale, was obtained, a Council of war appointed, the Landsturm organised, and fortifications raised along the whole line of the frontiers of Lucerne. The government of that canton made no secret of its intentions; but openly declared, that its warlike demonstrations were for the purpose of resisting the Diet in any attempt to dissolve the Sonderbund, or to banish the Jesuits by force of arms.

Such was the state of things, when the Diet met in the month of last July. And from the political changes, which had taken place in the preceding autumn in some of the Radical cantons, by means of which the long-desired majority of twelve votes *) — agreed on one line of policy — had been secured; it was easily to be foreseen that decisive measures would be adopted in reference to the Sonderbund.

*) Each of the twenty two cantons being represented in the Diet by one vote, a majority of twelve is the lowest by which any question can be carried in the affirmative. Of late years, Basle and Appenzell, having been divided into two parts and each part, forming by itself a separate state, is entitled to half a vote, which, if in accordance with the other half, passes as a whole vote, otherwise it is neutralised and lost.

Its continued existence was utterly incompatible with the peace and order of the community. The turn which its practical evils had taken, seemed fully to warrant the application against it of the 6th Article of the Federal Pact, which disallows separate alliances manifestly detrimental to the general good. It could not be difficult to show, that the Sonderbund had really a disturbing and malignant effect on the whole commonwealth; whether by its isolation, its military preparations and warlike attitude, or by the political agitation which it perpetually created and kept alive in the country. The question of the Sonderbund came under discussion before the Diet on the 19th July; and in order to show the light in which it was regarded by the different parties, we furnish the following compendium of the Debate and the most important opinions expressed by the principal speakers.

The Debate was opened by D^r. Furrer — the Deputy from Zurich — who observed, that he was willing to admit, that the consolidation of the Sonderbund was consequent on the expeditions of the Free-Corps but that he would call attention to the fact, that almost all the cantons had entered into sufficient guarantees, to prevent the recurrence of such extravagancies. He would protest against the assumption by which it was attempted to justify the existence of the Sonderbund as a necessary and even lawful fence against the meditated attacks upon the independence

and sovereignty of the individual cantons, and the proposed introduction of a unitary or central government; he believed, that no such intention was at all entertained, and that while he considered a reform, or a reconstruction of the Federal Pact as absolutely necessary, he felt assured, that all the cantons were agreed on the one point, that a unitary, or centralised Republic was as unsuited to the social and political circumstance of the country, as it is repugnant to the prejudices and historical associations of the people. Believing then, as he did, that no such innovating tendencies existed at present, or were to be apprehended for the future; and consequently that no such protective alliance was really called for, he confidently hoped, that the cantons would of their own accord renounce the Sonderbund.

The Deputy from Lucerne — B. Meier — in his reply to the foregoing speech, denied, that sufficient guarantees had been given to protect the Catholic cantons against all future aggressions from the Free-Corps. Still, he was ready to own, that the Sonderbund was not so much intended as a barrier against the assaults of those lawless bands, as against the revolutionary movements and projects of that party, which, having a majority in the Diet, is resolved on the introduction of a unitary form of government, and has, on various public occasions, expressed its determination to that effect. To ensure the re-establishment of peace in the

country, he continued to say, it would be necessary to give the seven allied cantons full and ample satisfaction by restoring the suppressed convents in Argovie, by leaving the question of the Jesuits untouched, and by giving sufficient security to continue, for the future, that Order undisturbed in their places of occupation. In conclusion, he would say, that to attain and secure these objects, was the great aim of the Sonderbund; and which he believed powerful enough to grapple with all difficulties and to bring the differences to a successful issue. He, therefore moved, that the question before the Diet, be entirely dismissed.

Both the Deputies from Uri and Schwytz spoke in the same tone and to the same effect, declaring, that the population of their cantons would adhere, to the last extremity, to the alliance of the seven Catholic States; and that they were ready to take up the gauntlet which had been thrown down before them. If coercive measures were adopted and a military force employed against them, it would be only over the dead bodies of the descendants of the Tells and Winkelrieds, that an invader should make his way into their secluded valleys, the ancient cradle of Swiss liberty and independence.

Unterwalden held the same language, and protested its unshaken adherence to the Sonderbund.

The Deputy from Zug — Bossart — opened his speech by saying, that he might be disposed to own,

that an alliance like the Sonderbund, may in the end prove detrimental to the interests of the country in its operations and effects; but that he could not see how it can be expected to be broken up until the grievances which called it into existence, were actually redressed. So long as the local and cantonal governments took no effectual steps to repress the revolutionary and anarchical spirit, which continually threatens the independence and even the existence of the seven Catholic-States, they could not be expected to dissolve the league. Zug, proudly looking back upon its past honourable and independent career, which could boast a duration of five hundred years, would remain faithful to the allied cantons and not easily be moved from the position it had taken.

M. Munzinger, the Deputy from Soleure, wished to remind the Assembly, how the representatives of the Sonderbund were continually given to shift their ground; and to assign, from time to time, different reasons for the formation and existence of the League. At one time the Sonderbund was held up as a necessary alliance to effect the re-establishment of the convents, at another time as a wall of protection against the incursions of the Free-Corps, and now as a barrier to check every revolutionary innovation of the Federal Pact — what may be its next and other objects?

The Deputy from Basle-town — Sarasin — expressed his strong and anxious desire to act the part

of mediator between the two contending parties. He was ready to admit, that the alliance of the seven cantons was incompatible with the terms of the Federal Pact, but, as all the grievances of those states had not as yet been redressed, he could only vote for an invitation being addressed to them to renounce the Sonderbund.

The Deputy from Thurgovie – D^r. Kern – entered more fully into the merits of the question, in all its bearings, than any other speaker: and commenced by stating, that it was quite clear to him that no single member of any confederation could take part in a separate league, or union, which imposed obligations, that under certain circumstances, might go to clash with those of the general alliance; so that the powers which are intended to be employed for the use and benefit of the whole body politic, might be diverted to the service of special and particular interests only. It has been attempted, he continued, in vindication of the Sonderbund, to dwell exclusively on its protective, or defensive attributes, called for, by the exigencies of the times; but, in reality, it mattered little to show what be its practical utility or application; as the Diet could not safely suspend its expression of opinion, with reference to the league, until an actual conflict – for which all the elements existed in that alliance – had taken place, whether with the confederation at large, or with any solitary canton in

particular, and thus the peace of the country had become endangered; it were quite enough to show, that, according to the terms of the 6th article of the Pact, the Sonderbund is illegal and prejudicial to the whole community, and must, on that account cease to exist. If it can be shown, that the Federal Pact, in itself, is insufficient to afford the necessary protection and security; in that case it becomes the duty of every member of the Confederation to seek to correct the defect and to remedy the evil. But it seems, that the objects of the Sonderbund are not those of defence and protection, but those of aggression and defiance. That league was formed as far back as the year 1843, when it held frequent conferences and made military preparations; and while it professed at one time, to stand its ground merely as a protection against the Free-Corps, it pretends now — that danger having passed away — to be on its guard against unconstitutional acts of the Diet. That Assembly, it is quite clear, cannot tolerate such an opposing power. It is in vain for the leaders of the Sonderbund to say that they are ready to take up the gauntlet, for it is they, in fact, who throw it down; inasmuch as they tell the Diet, that, while it continues its deliberations they continue their war-like preparations.

As it regards the question — the speaker continued to argue — of obligation on the part of the minority to submit to the decision of the majority,

he was prepared to own that such did not exist in every possible case; but, he would say, that in all points which essentially involve federal questions, the resolutions once adopted by the Diet are binding on all the members of the Confederation. Now it can scarcely be doubted that the question of the Sonderbund was essentially and strictly speaking a federal question. The 6th article of the Constitution plainly provides, that no separate alliance shall be formed among any of the cantons themselves, to the prejudice of the general Confederacy. And what other authority can be considered as competent to pronounce upon this point, if the right be denied to the majority of the Diet? Beside, it is specially provided by the 8th article of the charter, »that in all other arrangements except in the entering into treaties with foreign States, or in declaring of war, an absolute majority of the Diet shall be decisive and binding on all the members of the confederation.«

The speaker proceeded still further to show, that according to the most ancient laws of the Confederation — framed by the very founders of Swiss liberty and independence, and by the ancestors of those who seemed to cling the most tenaciously to the separate alliance — it was evident and indisputable, that the Sonderbund was illegal and unconstitutional. By the Federal-Compact of the primitive cantons — entered into on the 7th November 1332, it is specially pro-

vided, according to the 7th article, „that none of the contracting parties shall be at liberty to form any covenant or engagement, whether in or out of the land, without the knowledge, or permission of the entire confederation. «

Dr. Kern concluded his speech by disclaiming, in forcible terms, the imputation, that those who sought the dissolution of the Sonderbund concealed other and ulterior objects; and were, in reality, working for the subversion of the cantonal independence and the destruction of the Federal Pact. He called to mind, that it was now upwards of 15 years, since the revision of the Pact had first been determined on, and yet up to that period not one of its articles had been touched or changed; a sufficient proof, he thought, that the party with whom he acted, was not moved by a rash desire to destroy the constitution. Nor did he believe that it would be easy to find any one canton disposed to surrender its sovereignty, or independence; he could speak in the most positive terms of the canton with which he was connected, and which he knew to be most firmly attached to that particular institution.

The Deputy from Tessino — Col. Luvini — opened his address by calling attention to the fact, that those cantons which offered the stoutest resistance to the reform of the Pact, were at the same time the most forward in their violation of it, by the separate alliance they had formed, contrary to its provisions. The con-

stitution recognises, beside the Diet, no other competent authority, for the levying of troops, appointing of officers and nominating of a Commander-in-Chief. But the seven allied cantons have usurped these functions, and have, moreover, organised a Council of war; measures which cannot fail to bring on a collision with the supreme authority in the land. They take to themselves the right of interpreting the Pact their own way; while they would deny to other cantons the liberty of forming an opinion of their own, on the same subject. He denied, that the Sonderbund was a protective or defensive alliance, but regarded it as an active and aggressive confederacy, for the purpose of opposing and putting down every liberal movement, and crushing those principles of freedom which have been more developed and matured during the last 15 years. »Religion«, exclaimed the speaker, »pure and undefiled religion! — thou art made the watchword of a faction and subservient to political party-strife. Thou art cast by the hand of a hypocrite, to act as an engine of discord, and to set in motion the most violent political passions; while, in reality, thou art a messenger of peace, of love, and brotherly kindness. It is wonderful and passing strange, that, in this contest, we should see individuals acting the part of apostles and champions of religious faith, who, at one time were employed in reviling and deriding the cause of religious truth; and who have de-

clared again and again, that a community can make no rational progress, while it is burdened with convents and a clergy that mislead the people. And these are the men who would now appear and pass as the most zealous defenders of that which, before they were ready to trample into the mire; though they can barely conceal their selfish aims and objects. *) What! are these the evidences of that religion of mercy and compassion which you profess to reverence; that you have been instrumental in driving hundreds of your fellow-citizens into banishment, and dooming them to pine in poverty and want? The Catholic population of the canton of Tessino, behold in the Sonderbund question, a purely political, and in no wise, a religious topic. And, therefore, do we call upon you, to put an end to your unhallowed work; and to beware of making the sacred cause of religion subservient to your hatefully political intrigues. We call upon you to refrain from maligning your brethren of the reformed creed by calling out your religion is in danger; while all the time you are only waging war against

*) Col. Luvini may be supposed to allude to M. Siegwart-Müller, who, before he renounced his liberal political opinions, and joined, in 1841, the Jesuit-party, was known to be most lax in his religious views, and to turn into ridicule the rites and observances of the Church of Rome that are regarded as most sacred.

liberal principles and opinions." The speaker, in conclusion, declared his readiness to vote for the dissolution of the Sonderbund.

The Debate was finally closed, on the 20th July, by M. Ochsenbein, the President of the Diet, who moved the following resolutions:

- 1) That the Sonderbund, being incompatible with the Federal Pact is declared dissolved; and
- 2) That the Sonderbund-States are held responsible for the observance of the foregoing resolution; the Diet reserving to itself the power of taking ulterior measures.

These resolutions were carried in the affirmative by the votes of 12 whole and two half cantons, viz: Zurich, Berne, Glarus, Soleure, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, Argovie, Tessino, Thurgovie, Geneva, Vaud, the Grisons, Appenzell-exterior and Basle-campagne. The Deputies from Basle-town, Neufchatel and Appenzell-interior, desiring to observe a neutral position, declined to vote altogether on the question; though it was quite evident, that the two last-named Deputies sympathised with the Sonderbund-cantons. The representatives of those States, delivered to the Diet their written protest against its decision, in which they denied, in emphatic terms, the right of that Assembly to interfere in the matter; declaring afresh, that their separate alliance was purely defensive and needful for the protection of their religious institutions; and being,

therefore, in no wise prejudicial, whether to the Confederation in general, or to any separate cantons in particular, it was utterly unaffected by the 6th article of the Pact. They declared, furthermore, their unshaken attachment to the Constitution, and their willingness of submitting to all the obligation it imposed; while they would feel it their duty – and be prepared – to defend their cantonal sovereignty and independence.

The next question of importance which occupied the attention of the Diet, was that of the Jesuits. Being now recognised as a federal question, and as coming within the jurisdiction of that Assembly, it was resolved, by the same majority of 12 and two half votes, that the cantons which harboured that Order be invited to dismiss them, and forbidden to receive them again, at any future time, within their territory. And after this question was likewise disposed of, the Diet, on the 19th September adjourned its sitting to the 18th October; to enable the Deputies to return to their respective cantons, and receive, as by law required, further instructions from the Grand-Councils, or other cantonal authorities; in reference to any ulterior measures that might be taken against the Sonderbund, in case continued resistance were offered by its leaders.

That the interval should prove a season of great excitement and fermentation in the country, may easily be conceived. The Diet had now recorded its formal sentence of condemnation of the Sonderbund;

but it was still very doubtful, whether the same majority which contributed to this, could be secured for voting the decree of execution. It was scarcely expected, that the Grand-Councils', both of the Grisons and the canton of St. Gall would be strong enough to carry a vote of instruction to their respective Deputies to empower them to agree to coercive measures against the Sonderbund. This state of uncertainty and suspense, produced a spirit of intense excitement; every engine of agitation was set at work to inflame the public mind by political party-strife and religious fanaticism. The canton of St. Gall, in particular — where the population consists almost in equal numbers of Protestants and Roman Catholics — was the scene of great contention and disorders, and to which the eye of the whole country was directed. It was very doubtful here, to the very last moment — from the almost equally-balanced state of parties — which section would sufficiently preponderate, that which was opposed to, or, that which was in favour of coercive measures. The struggle was long and protracted; but the Radical party finally triumphed by the narrow majority of three; while the canton was all the time in the most feverish state of agitation; and probably nothing but the presence of a military force was sufficient to prevent the outbreak of a formidable insurrection and the overthrow of the government. In other parts of the country, the flames of agitation were kindled and

stirred, by public-meetings, by pilgrimages and processions; and by political sermons from the pulpit and violent articles from the press. It is worthy of remark, that at Lucerne — the very focus and centre of the Sonderbund — when the Grand-Council met to agree to a vote of instruction to the Deputy, a formidable opposition — formidable not in numerical strength but on constitutional grounds — was raised against the government for its obstinate adherence to the separate League, which was held to be locally, as well as federally illegal, as it had never been sanctioned by the veto of the people.

But the voice of sober and calm reason and justice was not allowed to be heard any where; it was drowned amid the din of passion and party-strife. When the Diet re-assembled on the 18th October, the state of parties, as to their votes in that Assembly, was precisely the same as before its adjournment. Yet before the sword was finally to be unsheathed against the Sonderbund-cantons; it was resolved to make another attempt at effecting an accommodation between the two parties. On the proposal of Dr. Furrer, the Deputy from Zurich, it was decided by the Diet, on the 20th October, that two federal Representatives should be sent to each of the seven cantons, with a pacific proclamation addressed to the local governments and population of those states. And it must be owned, that, in this conciliatory measure,

the Diet really showed an honest desire, to arrive at an adjustment of the differences, in the way of peace; and to pass through the crisis with moderation and dignity. The proclamation was certainly conceived in a spirit of conciliation, and gave the fullest assurance and promise of upholding the cantonal sovereignty and independence; and, otherwise, of watching over the public order and security of the commonwealth at large. The following are the principal points contained in the proclamation. After dwelling on the inadmissibility and unconstitutional character of the Sonderbund, it proceeds to set forth: „Confederates! You apprehend dangers to threaten the rights and liberties, as well as the faith and Church which have come down to you from a long line of ancestry. But we give you hereby the most solemn assurances, that there exists not on our part the remotest intention of exposing those your precious privileges to the least danger or jeopardy. How, indeed, were it possible to suppose, that the Federal Executive could be moved to the commission of any wrong against confederates; and more especially those, who, for the most part, are the primitive and original founders of the Swiss Confederation.“

„The Diet has no desire to oppress any member of the Confederacy, or to annihilate the cantonal independence, or violently to destroy the existing Federal Pact, or to create a unitary Republic, or, in

general, to endanger your liberties, privileges, and religion. On the contrary, it will in all fidelity seek to afford to all the cantons alike, that protection and security to which they are entitled, and have a right to expect from confederates."

„Therefore, we would entreat you, confederates, to renounce the separate alliance, which, as far as it includes objects comprehended in the Federal-Pact, is rendered unnecessary; and as for other purposes it is inadmissible and illegal. We would have you to remember, that such separate alliances are opposed both in the letter and spirit to our most ancient compacts and engagements. The existing Pact is sufficient to afford you all necessary protection in your rights, immunities, and liberties. Persist, then, no longer in a position which is at variance with the fundamental laws of the Confederation; and which, as it divides the country into two hostile camps, is apt to imperil our liberty and independence from without."

„The Federal Representatives, whom, according to the ancient usages of our country, we send among you, will endeavour, personally, to urge these topics on your attention. We entreat you to receive them as confederates, and to listen to them in a spirit of confidence. At the same time, we would have you to consider also, what a great and serious responsibility you would incur, if you should continue to disregard the decision the Diet has arrived at — on con-

stitutional grounds — and the present friendly monition, which we address to you. It would not be easy to calculate all the unhappy consequences that would result to you, to us, and to the whole country from your continued resistance to the federal authority. It depends upon you to avert such a disastrous catastrophe. And we hope, that you will be guided by such counsels, as are in accordance with the duties you owe to the Confederation, as are necessary to the peace and order of the whole country, and to your own cantons. Let us be one common brotherhood, united in one common bond of alliance. What we desire is to see the reign and supremacy of law and order; and the peace and security of the community. We entreat you to help us in the accomplishment of this federal duty, and in the attainment of these great and public objects.«

»God preserve and protect our dear native land!«

It is much to be lamented, that this message of peace and good will, which appears to have been well and honestly intended, did not meet with a better reception from the Sonderbund-cantons. Whatever were the past causes of grievance and distrust, still, pledges and assurances so solemnly and unequivocally given in the face of all Europe, might have been worth accepting and being at least tried. If hereafter, the Diet, in violation of its promises and engagements, had suffered the Sonderbund-cantons to

become afresh exposed to acts of aggression and misrule, it would have stood out to the world as a perjured and worthless body; deserving of nothing but the scorn and contempt of mankind, while it would have placed the league on the best 'vantage ground, eliciting the universal sympathies of all nations. But the endeavour of the Diet, to bring the contest to a pacific termination failed; its proclamation and representatives were disregarded and well-nigh treated with insult. In every canton, with the exception of Zug, the federal commissioners were not allowed to have access to, or to hold communication with the local authorities, or to publish the proclamation. The government of Lucerne went even the length of menacing with imprisonment and criminal prosecution any of its citizens, that should venture to receive, or to assist in the distribution of the proclamation. The *Catholic Gazette*, a Journal, which was the organ of the government, indulged in a vein of pleasantry at the long faces the Federal Representatives cut at their ignominious dismissal.

There was no alternative now for the Diet, for the vindication of its authority and consistency, but to proceed to carry its resolutions into effect, by force of arms. Accordingly, on the 24th October it was decided to call immediately 50,000 men under arms, and to appoint as Commander-in-Chief, General Dufour, who was the oldest staff-officer in the service.

In the mean time, some further attempts were made to arrive at a pacific adjustment of the unhappy differences. It was proposed by the Deputy from Zug, that, provided the Diet agreed to dismiss altogether the Jesuit-question, without further notice of it; and gave, moreover, sufficient guarantees to secure to the seven Catholic cantons, in conformity with the 12th article of the Pact, all their confessional and political rights, he would undertake to bring about the dissolution of the Sonderbund. This proposition, however, was immediately rejected; on the additional demand of Lucerne, that the disbanding of the federal army should also be included in the conditions.

On the failure of this proposal, the Deputy from Basle-town submitted another project of pacification. He proposed that, on the one hand, the Sonderbund should be dissolved; and, on the other hand, the Diet should agree to withdraw the Jesuit-question and submit it to the decision of the Pope. In this proposition, St. Gall and Soleure declared their readiness to acquiesce; if Basle-town, Zug, and the Grisons would undertake to make interest with the Roman Pontiff to insure, at least, the recall of the Jesuits from Lucerne. But objection was made to the proposal, by both the Deputies from Zurich and Thurgovie, who held it to be inadmissible and unconstitutional; as it purposed to submit a question, which had been declared to be federal, to the decision of a foreign power; the Pope being

such in reference to all the Protestant cantons. They considered the possibility of finding a pacific solution of the question, in the voluntary act of Lucerne to part with the Jesuits; looking to its position as one of the directing cantons. On this basis they were disposed to co-operate in seeking for an adjustment of all the matters in dispute. Lucerne, however, supported by Friburg, would listen to no other terms of accommodation but those which proceeded on the understanding, that both the question of the Jesuits, and that of the Argovian convents be referred to the arbitration of the Pope; a proposition, which seemed to render an amicable arrangement utterly hopeless, as the Diet was not likely to re-open the question of the convents, that, by its decision of the 31st August 1843 had been declared as finally settled.

Thus, on the day after these bootless negotiations — on the 29th October — the Deputy of Lucerne, on the meeting of the Diet, rose in his place and declared, that the moment had now arrived, when he and his colleagues were called upon, by an imperative sense of duty to withdraw altogether from that Assembly; as they beheld in the troops which had been called out a hostile army set in array against the Sonderbund, the responsibility of which measure they threw upon its authors; and that they were prepared with a manifesto to publish and justify their conduct in the face of all the world. And rising simultaneously, the

Deputies from the seven league-cantons retired from the Diet, amid profound silence.

A few days after, on the 4th of November, the Diet issued the executionary decree against the Sonderbund, to effect its dissolution, by force of arms; and thus ended the political part of the drama, while the military scenes crowded on the vision in dark perspective.

But before we proceed to describe these, it may, perhaps be expected, that we should examine the reciprocal pretensions of both parties; with a view of ascertaining on which side the right or the wrong mostly inclines and preponderates. And, in undertaking this task, I believe, that, from the foregoing historical synopsis, it must be obvious, and admitted by every candid and unbiassed mind; that the first provocation to the contest was given by the Radicals in their unscrupulous spoliation of the convents of Argovie. That deliberate attack on the property and institutions of the Church of Rome, and the flagrant breach of the constitution which it involved, could have none other, but the most mischievous and disastrous results; and the more so, when it was found, that the Diet withheld its protecting shield from the party aggrieved and allowed the infringement of the national charter to go with impunity. It might have been expected, that the Diet, in vindication of the public faith and the claims of justice; would have adopted the most

prompt and decisive measures to enforce from the government of Argovie, the immediate restitution of all the monastic establishments. There could have been no difficulty in the way of effecting this, even by the force of arms; since Argovie had no just and rightful plea of disputing the Diet's competency to interfere in its domestic or internal arrangements by reason of its cantonal independence. It were easy to show, that the cantonal sovereignty was, of necessity, under certain restrictions and limitations, arising out of federal obligations; and that Argovie, having violated and set at nought a positive and unequivocal article of the Federal Pact, made itself thereby amenable to the jurisdiction of the highest authority of the Confederation. And, therefore, do we believe that the testimony of history will bear with equal severity against the aggression of the Radicals, as well as against the inaction of the Diet. That Assembly, in neglecting to uphold the institutions of the country, gave great latitude to the reign of anarchy; and seemed to connive at — if not actually support — further acts of misrule and outrage.

And it was not long before another move was made, by renewed violence, to distract and disturb the peace of the country from one extremity to the other. Without recurring to the expeditions of the Free-Corps — tragic and sanguinary interludes to the play of agitation — we have to notice the proceedings

of the Radicals in reference to the Jesuit-controversy. Never we believe, was there an act of greater and more egregious folly committed, than that of the introduction of the Jesuits, by the government of Lucerne. It is well known, that every effort was made by the Conservative-party of Switzerland, to move that government, by entreaty, by counsel and by warning, to abandon the project; and to revoke the decree of admission in favour of that Order. But all was in vain; the ruling party of Lucerne persisted in its act of infatuation. *Quem Deus perdere vult prius dementat.* Yet the Radicals had clearly no lawful and constitutional grounds for interfering in the matter; demanding the expulsion of the Jesuits from the whole of the country, and disturbing the peace of the entire community. The Jesuits had been domiciled in several cantons of the confederation, long before the suppression of the Order by Clement XIV.; and again since its restitution, early in the present century. They had gained a footing for a considerable time, at an earlier period, in the canton of Lucerne; and that government, in point of law, had, on the present occasion, a clear right and title to recall and entrust them – or any other ecclesiastical order – with the care of its educational institutions. To what then have we to ascribe the sudden and fierce outburst of unquenchable hostility to the Society of Jesus? What was the significancy, the drift, the object of the vio-

lent crusade against the Jesuits? Was it religious zeal — was it confessional fidelity — was it pious fervour? This can scarcely be supposed, when the simultaneous persecution is considered, which fell from the same quarter, upon the Protestant and pious clergy of the canton de Vaud. There can be no doubt, that the presence of the Jesuits in Switzerland, under existing circumstances, was to be deprecated — as, indeed, it is to be deprecated from every land in which the blessings of constitutional freedom and religious liberty are to exist and flourish together. It is not to be overlooked that that Order has been driven, as a moral pestilence, from almost every country in Europe. Despotical as well as constitutional governments have found the influence of the Society of Jesus, to be incompatible with the good of the people and the due administration of public affairs. It would seem, as if a fatality had attended the footsteps of this Order, and that whithersoever it went discord was sure to arise in the Church as well as in the State. And, however desirable it might be to effect the removal of the Jesuits from Switzerland, to insure the peace and quiet of the community — yet, were they who instigated and prosecuted the work of agitation against that Order, really labouring for that end? Were there no scenes of intimidation, terror and bloodshed created in many parts of Switzerland by the very men who were foremost in their denuncia-

tion of the despotism and the crimes of the Jesuits, and demanded their banishment, as the enemies of social order and peace? — The truth is the Radicals wanted a theme of agitation; they wanted a wedge to shiver the fragments of obstruction that still lay in their way to undivided rule and power in the land. And the presence of the Jesuits at Lucerne, presented such ready means to that end. Nothing more opportune could have happened for the Radicals than that imbecile act of the Lucerne government, to receive that Order into the canton. It completely played into their hands; it was — to use a very trite and homely expression — like bringing grits to their mill. It gave them a powerful lever, whereby they could move all the confessional prejudices and passions, which the detested name of the Jesuits were sure to excite in a large portion of the community. And thus far the work of agitation proved successful. It is only to be lamented, that so enlightened and respectable a class as the Protestant-Conservatives, should have allowed themselves to be so far carried away by their political sympathies, as to take part with the Jesuit-faction; which they must have known to be not only the bitter enemies of their creed and Church, but also of every movement of political freedom. It might have been better, if they had occupied a more independent position of their own; standing between the two extremes, as the nucleus of a moderately-liberal party.

But if we refer to the proceedings of the Diet in the case of the Jesuits, it would appear, that it was not more dignified, than in the case of the convents. In its earlier stage, the question of the Jesuits was held to be a matter of pure domestic arrangement; falling exclusively under the cantonal administration and not within the limits of federal jurisdiction. But subsequently the Diet asserted its own competency to deal with the question; and to bring it within the power of its adjudication. It seems, however, passing strange, that in the affair of the convents, which really involved an open and acknowledged breach of the Federal Pact, and called, on that account, for the immediate intervention of the highest federal authority, the Diet took no steps to interpose its powers; but, that, in the affair of the Jesuits, which had no such lofty claim or significance, that Assembly advanced its claim to interfere!

But if, up to this time the Diet betrayed in its proceedings much of vacillation and indecision, it must be owned, that, in reference to the Sonderbund, it pursued a mode of action, that was distinguished by a display of considerable vigour and firmness of purpose. That the separate alliance was really an illegal confederacy; and as such incompatible with the Federal Compact, seems to be generally admitted by the best authorities. And this being avowedly the case — whatever may have been the provocations to its original

formation it was not possible for the Diet — consistently with any regard for social order and the working of an organised government — to admit of its continuance. To have an imperium in imperio, a commonwealth divided into two hostile camps, with reciprocal recriminations and mutual aggressions; such a state of things was found to be absolutely and utterly intolerable. The evil was felt to be too great and sore without means being taken for effecting its prompt and decided removal. Accordingly, the Diet, without hesitation, declared the Sonderbund dissolved; and threw the responsibility of a continued resistance, upon the allied cantons. It would have been well, if that Assembly had acted with equal vigour and decision on other occasions; when the integrity and honour of the Federal Pact were also at stake, and required to be alike vindicated and upheld. Had this been done, the Sonderbund would probably never have existed.

On the other hand, it were not possible to leave without notice the reprehensible conduct of the leaders of the Sonderbund in the last stage of the quarrel; when, by their dogged and insensate obstinacy, they rejected, disdainfully, every offer of peace and conciliation. It could not be otherwise than damaging to the cause of the Sonderbund, to find its leaders persevering in language so menacing and even insolent to the majority of the Diet. During the period — in the last days of October — when earnest and strenu-

ous efforts were being made to effect an accommodation — that was the time for the League to relent, and to meet the opposite party half way. There was much to be forgiven and forgotten on both sides; and the Diet certainly stepped forward in the attitude of conciliation and good-will. And if — as there is reason to apprehend from what has since transpired — the Sonderbund-chiefs assumed so bold and inflexible a tone and bearing, from a confident expectation of foreign aid which they had invoked, to support and bring their cause to a successful issue — in that case, their conduct must be pronounced the more blameworthy and indefensible. It is a despicable — it is a hateful — yea, it is a treasonable office — to call the foreigner to the invasion of one's native land.

For the rest, it were impossible to deny to the dominant party a high degree of political merit in the execution of its measures against the Sonderbund. Great praise, we believe, must be accorded to the directing power for having proved itself equal to the magnitude of the exigency, which the turn of events had produced. The Diet displayed considerable dignity and more courage — united with sagacity and firmness — in the attitude which it assumed towards foreign States; whilst it was, at the same time, engaged in enforcing its authority against a refractory portion of its own people. The gigantic efforts that were so promptly made in the organisation and equipment of so large and

powerful an army — the prudence that was displayed in the appointment to its command of officers so able and free from extreme opinions — the moderation and humanity that were generally exercised in the different stages, and to the end of the conflict — all these combine to reflect great credit on the Executive power. O, si sic omnia! For here the language of praise and commendation must needs stop short. It is painful to reflect on, and to record the unworthy use to which the success of the majority has been turned; and the acts of outrage and violence that have been consequent on the triumph over the Sonderbund. All what had previously been said of the designs of Radicalism, what it is capable of doing, when lifted into power — and which has been so emphatically disclaimed by its followers — has of late most grievously been verified and fulfilled. The world has beheld, with indignation, a series of oppression, confiscation, and persecution, which cannot fail to leave the impress of an indelible stigma upon the authors and abettors.

It is not our desire to give to these pages an unnecessary tone of acrimonious crimination — certainly not more so, than we believe to be absolutely necessary to the satisfying of the claims of historical accuracy — and, therefore, we purposely abstain from dwelling on the irritating topics, that have been noticed in the public Journals, and in the proceedings of the French Chambers. There is, however, one point,

which we feel constrained to give a passing notice, namely that of the persecution of the Protestants in the Canton de Vaud.

That religious liberty is a duty which every organised government unquestionably owes to all its peaceful subjects, is a truth on which most Protestants are agreed. It is most assuredly a prominent article of faith in the creed of every liberal politician. It is a principle that has met with no greater admirer and supporter, than in the person of M. Druey of the Canton de Vaud. That gentleman has urged repeatedly the necessity of driving the Jesuits from the land; as they were the great enemies of religious freedom and liberty of conscience. But scarcely had he finished doing his part in the expulsion of the Jesuits, when he turned his weapons of attack another way; and directing them against the unoffending and inoffensive Protestants of his own canton, he gave to the world a practical lesson of what religious liberty is, when under radical control and guidance. It would seem, that liberty of conscience, according to M. Druey's code, consists just in as much freedom of action in matters of religion, as is in accordance with his own mind and opinions; and that whatever is at variance with those is put under the ban of his displeasure as an intolerable thing, and that must, in consequence, be proscribed. Hence all places of worship — except those of the National Church — were lately shut up in the canton

de Vaud, their ministers silenced and driven away, and every kind of religious meeting interdicted. Could Popery do worse? Could the Jesuits do worse — since the fires of the Inquisition have been extinguished?

It were well and desirable, that those entrusted with the direction of public affairs would consider that, by resorting to extreme measures, they are only strengthening the hands of their adversaries and supplying them with weapons of attack; but that, by pursuing a steady, liberal, and conciliatory line of policy, they would be sure to earn for themselves not only the respect of all Europe, but also the gratitude of their own country. There are in the ruling party, men of moderation, wisdom, and patriotism. It is ardently to be hoped, that their counsels will ultimately prevail. What Switzerland wants mostly, for the further development of her resources and the fuller play of her industry — under the stimulant of modern inventions — is peace and quiet. She has now been agitated and distracted, more or less, for the last 17 years. And she »cannot afford«, to borrow the language of a wise living Statesman, »to have a revolution every year«. Her population is in the enjoyment of the widest and most extensive system of liberty, that can contribute to the happiness of a people. And there are really so many elements of good wrought into the character of the people, as to make it the more desirable to afford the proper scope for their

useful application. Forethought, diligence, laborious industry, and reciprocal dispositions to neighbourly help, are to be found, generally, in the Swiss population to a larger degree, than in any other throughout Europe. There is also more order in the country, with the minimum of police-agency than is to be found elsewhere. What the land needs mostly is rest, and deliverance from agitation and the feuds of party-passions. This seems to be acknowledged in the following patriotic and beautiful sentiments of General Dufour's, which he expressed, with so much credit to himself, on the 1st of January, in answer to an address of congratulation, which his brother-officers presented on that day. „Thanks“, that officer said, „are not due, or to be ascribed to me, but to the Providence of God, that has vouchsafed the victory to our army. Our thanks, however, will be best expressed by the moderation with which we make use of that victory. There ought an end to be put to all expressions of reproach, offence, or insult towards our late erring brethren and confederates, so as that their wounds be not afresh torn open. We shall do well to cast the veil of forgetfulness over the past, and to live together, in the future as united and true confederates; each respecting the rights of his neighbour and all co-operating for the general weal — then, indeed, may we look for the sun-light of peace to rest resplendently on Helvetia's happy and lovely scenes.“

THE MILITARY OPERATIONS.

The crisis which had now actually arrived, and which the course of events had been inevitably preparing for some years past; appeared pregnant with the most fearful and disastrous consequences to the country and its population. The furies of war, having been let loose upon the land, it was impossible for the most keen-sighted mortal to determine or to prognosticate, what might be the extent of the work of desolation. Considering the pitch to which the prevailing exasperation had risen, and the bitterness of the passions that were at work; the intestine struggle threatened to be fierce and sanguinary in its nature, and long and protracted in its duration. Beside, there appeared every probability of a foreign and armed intervention. Plain intimations to that effect had been given by some of the Diplomats, residing, at the time, in Zurich; and a French Journal, said to express the opinions of that Cabinet, proclaimed very significantly that, „if the sword leaves the scabbard in any part of Switzerland, her powerful neighbours must

cause it to be replaced." It was, therefore, not surprising, that the darkest and most fearful forebodings should take possession of, and weigh heavily on the public mind.

The military preparations, on both sides, were of the most formidable kind. The troops which the Diet had called under arms — including the reserve — amounted to nearly 100,000 men; while the Sonderbund forces mustered about one third of that number. The disproportion of numbers on the part of the latter, may be said to have been made up by the strength of their position; and by the almost unassailable mountain-fastnesses, into which they could retire.

It may be observed, at the very outset, that the military preparations, preceding the contest, presented many scenes of considerable interest. It was a most striking sight, and of no ordinary excitement, to behold the many battalions gathering around their standards, in obedience to their country's call. It was a spirit-stirring spectacle to witness — as the writer had occasion to do — day after day, thousands of troops drawn up in open square and, with uplifted hand, invoking the name of the Most-High; swearing fidelity to their colours and to the cause in which they were engaged. It was scarcely possible to repress a feeling of religious solemnity to steal over the mind, while gazing on the scene. To listen to a vast multitude of armed men, about to engage in deadly strife, publi-

cly, and under the canopy of heaven, offering their vows to the throne of the Eternal; and to behold their gray and iron-visaged Commander, standing bare-headed, and calling for the protection of the Lord of Hosts on their undertaking — is, doubtless, a spectacle, which must be allowed even by the most careless, to be full of thrilling and moving interest.

It was, indeed, surprising to behold the promptitude with which the army had been organised, and the completeness of its condition and equipment. It is well known, that Switzerland has no regular, or standing army; and that while she has supplied the half of Europe with mercenary troops, she has no mercenary soldiers of her own. Every citizen — with the exception of those engaged in the offices of public instruction — is bound to serve in the army for a time, whenever he should be required. Hence the Swiss soldiery are composed of men of various pursuits and callings. In their ranks are included the agricultural as well as the manufacturing classes; shopkeepers and merchants, small-traders and bankers. And it is, therefore, by no means an uncommon sight to behold the same individual, who, at one time, is standing behind the counter selling a pound of coffee, or a yard of calico, at another time, arrayed in regimentals, marching at the head of his company; or another, who to day is obeying the order of his cust-

omers to supply him with a flask of wine or of beer, is to morrow commanding in front of his battalion. It is, then, not surprising, considering the materials which compose the army, to find, that much familiarity of intercourse should exist between the officers and their subordinates. In fact, the officer, when off duty, lives on the most intimate footing with the private soldier; treats him as an equal, is oftentimes seen to shake hands and drink with him, and to chat with him in the most confidential manner. And yet this state of things appears, in no wise, to affect, essentially, the proper discipline of the army, or to prove detrimental to the service.

It would, indeed, have been worth while to have seen some British officers in the line of the Swiss army, when concentrated on the frontier of the Canton of Lucerne; and to have ascertained their impression of the military array and organisation of these Republican troops. It is well known to what a rigorous and an iron-handed discipline the British soldier is subject, and to what a cruel punishment he is liable on the least infraction of the military code; and to permit the slightest relaxation of the customary formalities, or any acts of familiarity between the officers and their men, would be regarded as fatal to the proper order of the army, and as leading to the dissolution of all the bonds of obedience and submission. It might, therefore, be supposed, that an English officer would

have felt no small degree of surprise to have seen an army of about 60,000 men, constituted of such heterogeneous elements, and placed under such mild and indulgent treatment; and yet presenting so high a state of discipline and so fine a martial array. When it is considered that the army was called into existence almost at a moment's notice, that previously it was no burden or expense to the country — as in the case of a standing-army — it is not possible but to admire the economical arrangement of the State, and the patriotic spirit and feeling of the people. During the short campaign, those troops displayed a military order, the most inimitable; an obedience, the most implicit, and a patience, the most exemplary; in enduring the severest hardships of long and fatiguing marches in the day, and being exposed, at night, to the inclemency of the weather and of the season.

And no doubt, it is to be ascribed to the peculiar constitution of the Swiss army — composed of the citizens of the commonwealth — that the Diet felt called upon, on the breaking out of the war, to address to the troops the following manifesto: »Citizens Soldiers! — The Swiss Confederation, our common country has called us to arms. You have responded to the summons with a promptness worthy of men of courage; ready to shed their blood in the accomplishment of the most holy of duties, the safety of the country. You are now going to march against the separated

alliance, called the Sonderbund. This time again you will confound the calculations of those who have done you the injustice to reckon on your defection. The enemies of the country are endeavouring to make it believed, that it is in order to destroy the cantonal sovereignty of the States of the Sonderbund that you are summoned to march; that it is to destroy their political and religious liberty — to subject them to the yoke of tyrannical majorities — to overturn the federal institutions, to constitute a unitary government on their ruin and to sap the bases of social order. These are odious calumnies. You have to make the Compact, which is the federal Constitution of Switzerland to be respected — to re-establish order and tranquillity — and the security of the country — to put down revolt — to preserve Switzerland from anarchy — and to bring back to obedience to the laws, and to the federal authorities the populations led away by those who turn their credulity to account. You will have to deliver Switzerland from those evil-minded persons, who, for more than half a century have been fomenting troubles, with a view to put down and falsify the principle of liberty, of equality before the law, and of justice, which our forefathers established and set down in the Constitutions of the confederated States. That party, under lying pretexts has concluded the separate alliance, known by the name of the Sonderbund; the real object of which is to undermine our

principles, to keep the people in ignorance, and to bend the democracy to its yoke, in order to render it subservient to odious designs. This impious League is a poison which Switzerland ought to fling away from her bosom. Thus, in order to preserve the Confederation from such a cause of dissolution, the 6th article of the federal Compact declares expressly, that the Cantons cannot form unions prejudicial to the Confederation or to the interests of the other Swiss States! But the Sonderbund is one of the unions prohibited by the Compact. A private political alliance forming a Confederation is destructive of the common alliance — it is a germ of destruction and death that must be extirpated — concluded as it is to resist by force of arms the decisions of the Diet, which are all founded on the provisions of the Compact. The separate alliance is an act of rebellion by a factious minority against decrees passed by the competent authority."

„It is in consequence of that clear and express declaration, that the Diet on July 20, 1847 passed a decree asserting that: 1) the separate alliance of the seven Cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug, Fribourg and Valais is declared incompatible with the provisions of the Federal Compact, and consequently dissolved. 2) These Cantons are responsible for the observance of the present decree; and the Diet reserves to itself the right to adopt, if circumstances

demand it, ulterior measures to cause it to be respected. "

» In place of submitting to this decision, the Sonderbund protested against it, addressed to the people incendiary proclamations, caused arms and ammunitions to be brought from foreign countries, erected fortifications, collected together and armed troops. However, before having recourse to arms, the Diet attempted all that was in its power to prevent the effusion of blood. It addressed to the cantonal authorities and to the people of the seven States, a Proclamation full of kindness and respect for the sovereignty and rights, the liberty and religion of these Cantons. It delegated to them federal representatives. But in vain. Except at Zug, the federal representatives were not admitted to speak to the government, still less to the people. It was forbidden to publish the proclamation of the federal assembly; the Lucerne-government went even the length of menacing with imprisonment and criminal prosecution such citizens as should distribute it. Other attempts at conciliation have produced no result. The Deputies of the Sonderbund having proposed terms that could not be entertained; and above all, demanding a general laying down of arms, have shown clearly enough that they desired to paralyse the execution of the law, to give themselves the appearance of being anxious for peace, and to create a pretext to quit the Diet, crying out injustice and ty-

ranny. They have in fact withdrawn from the federal assembly, and quitted the Vorort on the 29th October, after handing in a declaration and a manifesto already printed. Such is the manner in which the Sonderbund has raised the mask, and thrown down the gauntlet to the Swiss Confederation. Soldiers, you will know how to take it up! In presence of that declaration of war, and after having exhausted all pacific means, the Diet considered it its duty, in virtue of articles 1, 6 and 8 of the federal Compact, to have recourse to arms, to enforce obedience, to obtain a complete reparation, and reduce the abettors of rebellion and disturbance to a state of impotence to injure Switzerland."

»The governments of the Sonderbund have acted contrary to their duty towards the Swiss Confederation in breaking with it, and in taking up arms. Thus, such citizens of the separate alliance as shall openly declare for the Confederation, shall enjoy full protection. Soldiers of all arms and grades! Switzerland and the world have their eyes fixed on you. The nation places unlimited confidence in your courage, devotedness, and discipline. To the fanaticism of your adversaries you will oppose that well considered firmness, that calm energy, that self-possessed valour, that serenity of enthusiasm, which the sentiment of a good cause and the enlightened conscience of duty impart. You will prove to your contemporaries and

to posterity, that you have not degenerated from your valiant ancestors, and by your conduct in battle you will add a fresh laurel-wreath to that crown which encircles the brow of our country; and you will inspire foreign countries with respect for Switzerland and her army. You will conquer those who would resist you arms in hands, or who may have the boldness to attack you. But whilst obeying the inexorable laws of war, you will know how to unite magnanimity to the necessities of combat; you will never forget that your opponents are for the most part misled men, confederates and brothers whom you have to cause to return to their duties. Your banner is that of the authority of the Confederation, of the integrity of a common country which protects the Cantons and their sovereignty of Swiss nationality, in their liberty, order, and security. It is to put down the standard of separation, that you have hastened to range yourselves under the red and white banner of Switzerland with its federal Cross — a banner which is the symbol of faith, and of bravery — it is to extinguish the incendiary torches of discord, and to save Switzerland from anarchy, that you have risen *en masse*; it is to insure to twenty two Cantons a durable peace, that you have taken up arms. A grateful country will recompense your services, and will take care of the widows, children and parents of such of you as shall have shed their blood for it.

„May the God of armies watch over you, fortify your hearts, enlighten your minds, strengthen your bodies, and support you in the fight. May God protect Switzerland, and bless our cause.“

On the day succeeding that of the publication of the foregoing address, General Dufour, who had been appointed, by the Diet, Commander-in-chief of the federal army, issued his proclamation to the troops under his command. But before we proceed to supply that proclamation, we would first introduce General Dufour to the notice of our readers. That officer is a native of Geneva, and the oldest Colonel on the federal staff. During his youth, when Geneva was annexed to the French Empire, Dufour was sent to the polytechnical school in Paris, where he received his military education. On leaving the school he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant of engineers, and dispatched to Corfu to assist in the fortification of that town. On Napoleon's return from Elba, he was entrusted with the command of the Fort l'Ecluse, which he defended against the Austrian General Frimont. After the general pacification of Europe, and when Geneva was constituted a portion of the Swiss Confederation, Dufour returned to his native town and entered the military service of his country. In the year 1831, when a general organisation of the Swiss army was undertaken, Col. Dufour was appointed to the head of the staff of General Guiguer de Prangin, who

was then Commander-in-chief, and subsequently he was removed to the post of Quarter-master-General; in both of which capacities he gave great satisfaction to the Diet.

It was he, who planned the improvements and embellishments recently executed in the town of Geneva; by his directions the splendid new quay and bridge near the Hotel des Bergues were constructed. Beside, he gained great celebrity by publishing between the years of 1822—40, a series of scientific works on military topics; and which are considered of the first order. His work „Sur la fortification permanente“ attracted the attention of the Emperor of Russia, who offered him the post of Major General in his army, which Dufour, however, declined. In his political opinions, he inclined at one time to the Radical party; and attached himself most intimately to Prince Louis Napoleon, during his residence in Switzerland. It is generally understood, that Dufour is the real author of the work on Engineering, which is published in the name of that adventurous Prince. It is said too, that the Colonel was Louis Napoleon's principal adviser in all his schemes and projects, in the years 1835, 36 and 37; but thus much is certain, that Dufour, as a member of the Diet, during those years, was found to oppose most strenuously every attempt of the Duke of Montebello, the French Ambassador,

to effect the expulsion of that Prince, from the Swiss territories.

In the year 1842, when a reform of the Constitution of Geneva was introduced, Colonel Dufour took part with the moderate-liberals of the Canton; and at the last election, he was returned, as member of the Grand-Council, by a Conservative constituency; on which account, he does not appear in the best odour with the Cantonal government. He is no doubt an officer of acknowledged military talent, and an individual of good private character. His present political views are moderately-Conservative; and his appointment to the head of the army gave general satisfaction. The following is his proclamation to the Swiss troops, and which was published on 5th November: „Soldiers! After the long manifesto which the Federal Diet has just addressed to you, it remains for me to add but a very few words, at this solemn conjuncture.“

„It is in order to give effect and execute the decree of the supreme authority of the Swiss Confederation, that you have been called from your homes and to take up arms. It is for you, and all faithful confederates to rally around the national banner which has been displayed; and to be mindful, that it is your most sacred duty to defend it with your best energies and at the price of your blood.“

„Your country calls now for your united aid, and

for the exertion of all your physical strength, to rescue Switzerland from a state of trouble and distraction which cannot be allowed to exist any longer, compatible with the general safety. The country relies on your devotedness, and I feel assured, that you will not disappoint its expectations."

"Soldiers, you are called to pass through this struggle not only victorious but reproachless: it must hereafter be said of you, that you have fought well while that was necessary, but that all the while you have proved humane and generous."

"I recommend to your especial care and protection all children, females, aged persons, and the ministers of religion. He, who lays violent hand on an inoffensive person, dishonours himself and disgraces his colours. The prisoners and the wounded claim so much the more your attention and compassion, as they are fellow countrymen, with whom you have oftentimes been united under the same banner."

"You will commit no unnecessary and wanton act of violence on the country-people, among whom you may be quartered; and you will be prepared to undergo the privations, which the present season necessarily entails; notwithstanding the care that has been taken to supply your wants. Your officers are most willing to share with you every hardship; and it is for you to obey their orders and to follow their example. It is oftentimes more meritorious for the soldier

to bear cheerfully hardship and privations, than to fight manfully on the field of battle.«

»But if all turn out as I am led to expect, the campaign will not be of long duration, and you will return to your homes, satisfied that you have executed a great undertaking; and that you have rendered signal services to your native land, by placing it in a position of having vindicated its independence and neutrality.«

General Dufour selected the following officers to the command of Divisions under his orders. Colonels Frey-Herose of the Canton of Argovie; Gmür of St. Gall; Luvini of Tessino; Rilliet-Constant of Geneva; Ziegler of Zurich; Burckhardt of Basle, and Donats of the Grisons. The three first-named are Roman Catholics, and of Radical opinions in politics; while the other four are Protestants, and of Conservative views, with the exception of Rilliet-Constant, who is attached to the Liberal-party, though not extreme or violent in his politics. Colonel Ziegler, who permanently resides in the town of Zurich, formerly served in the Dutch army, is one of the bravest and most respectable officers in the service; having by his personal gallantry contributed, in no small measure, to the success of the federal troops at Gislikon-Bridge. Colonels Burckhardt and Donats have both, for many years, served in the French army with great distinction; and the latter held an important command at

Madrid, while that city was occupied by Napoleon's troops.

The command of the Sonderbund-army, which amounted to about 30,000 men, was entrusted to General Salis-Soglio. This officer who is a Protestant, and a native of the Grisons, entered, at a very early period of life, on his military career. In the year 1811 he took service in the Bavarian-army, in a regiment of light-horse; and was appointed adjutant to Marshal, Prince Wrede. He was present at most of the principal engagements which took place, on the retreat of the French army, after their defeat at Leipzig in 1813; and was severely wounded in the battle of Hanau. He took part also in the conflicts at Brienne, Roubly, Bar sur Aube, Arcis, and la Fere-Champenoise; and distinguished himself on every occasion, by his personal courage and military prowess. After the peace of 1815, Salis-Soglio joined a regiment of his countrymen, which had been raised for the service of the King of the Netherlands; and, on the disbanding of that troop in 1830, he was promoted, by that government to the brevet-rank of Colonel and attached to a regiment of Cuirassiers. During the Belgian revolution in the autumn of that year, he charged, at the head of his regiment, the insurgents in the streets of Brussels; and gave proof of the most undaunted and intrepid bravery. In 1842 the Colonel quitted the service of the King of Holland, who bestowed a pen-

sion upon him; and retired to the Canton of Lucerne. By the Diet, he was put on the staff of the federal militia; but, refusing compliance with the orders of the Vorort on the recent outbreak of the civil war, his name was struck off the roll of the officers of the Confederation, and he undertook the command of the Sonderbund-army. General Salis-Soglio has been presented with several military orders from foreign Courts; beside two Bavarian and one Dutch, he wears also the Russian order of St. Wladimir, which the Emperor Alexander personally bestowed upon him, after the battle of Hanau. He is held in general estimation, and his political opponents speak of him in the highest terms of praise. The following is the proclamation, which he addressed to the troops under his command.

„Soldiers, and faithful Confederates! The high-minded and free people of the seven-allied Catholic States have resolved to adhere firmly to their most sacred religion, and to all the laws and privileges inherited from a heroic ancestry. And to defend and protect these, with all your might and even your life, you are now called to take up arms; whilst your pious wives and sisters lie prostrate in the house of God, to implore of the Lord of Hosts to give peace, or victory to your arms. With greater joy and in greater numbers than on any former occasion, are you now crowding around those banners, which at

Morgarten and Sempach and on other battle-fields, waved over the helmets of your brave fathers. That God who then fought for your fathers will now fight also for you. Wherefore it has pleased the Most-High to call me to a post so honorable and trust-worthy, I know not; but who can direct his most holy counsel? God's strength is oftentimes made perfect in the weakest human instrument! And if I am possessed of your confidence, mine is not less reposed in you. I know, that you will offer your prayers for me, even during the hottest moment of conflict. You will not forsake me any more than I will forsake you. I am thankful to, and praise the Almighty, that I have been accounted worthy to be called to fight, and also to fall, with you, if it be His will, in a cause so good as our's. God be with us.

The first scene of conflict was the St. Gothard; that mountain-pass, which of all others that open into Italy, is, perhaps, the grandest and most striking in its varied scenery. Who that has crossed this celebrated mount, can ever cease to remember and to admire its wild rock-scenery, its falling cascades — the rushing Reuss, leaping and foaming from precipice to precipice — its stupendous bridges, and sublime gorges? It might be supposed, that here was the very spot, where the voice of nature would hush and utterly subdue every impulse of human passion; and call forth no other feeling but that of adoration of the great

and the beneficent Creator of all. But it is not so easy to restrain the wild tumult of human passions. These grand and hallowed scenes have before been witness to the most deadly struggles, and the vast effusion of human blood. It was here, where, during the revolutionary wars of France, frequent engagements took place between the armies of that Republic, and those of Austria and Russia. Every traveller across the Gothard is reminded, by the inscription graven in the rock, in large letters, near the road-side — »Suwarow Victor« — of the splendid victory achieved by that General over the French, at the end of September in the last year of the last century. It is well known, that General Gudin, who, with the Division Lecourbe, had occupied Airolo, was forced to give way to the superior force of the advancing Russian army. But having taken a strong position towards the summit of the pass, from whence he was able to direct a most murderous fire upon the enemies columns, the Russians recoiled and showed symptoms of retreating. Suwarow, lying down, in an opening cleft of the rock, declared »that that should be his grave, if his children showed any disposition to give way and flee from the enemy.« This appeal had the desired effect. The Russians, now rushing forward with an irresistible force, drove back the French legions, and made themselves masters of the Gothard-pass. It was here where the first collision took place in the present

civil conflict; and even before the war had actually and formally been declared. It was on 4th November, that the Diet issued the executionary decree against the Sonderbund; and it was, on that day, that the encounter on the Gothard occurred, in which the lives of two young officers were wantonly sacrificed.

The accounts of that affair are exceedingly vague and uncertain; indeed, it is to be observed, that, throughout the whole of the short campaign, the official intelligence communicated to the public was exceedingly sparing and of the most meagre character. Both parties seemed to vie with each other in the desire of keeping the public, in as great a state of ignorance as possible of their movements and encounters and, especially, of their losses. That which is positively known of the »little war,« and to be relied upon; must be gathered from the ordinary channels of public information and from the best sources of private communication. From these it appears, that, on 4th November, a detachment of troops from the canton of Uri, commanded by Colonel Müller of the Engineers; occupied the heights of the St. Gothard, which command the pass, and are in the territory of Tessino. And as a body of seventeen men, headed by two of their officers, Lieutenants Balthasar and Arnold advanced on the road towards Airolo, to reconnoitre; they were fired upon by a party of rifle-men, from the canton of Tessino, who lay in ambush on

each side of the road, and both officers being killed on the spot, the detachment quickly retreated. Lieutenant Balthasar, who fell thus early in the struggle, was a most promising young man, just of age; he was the only son of Colonel Balthasar one of the richest inhabitants of the town of Lucerne; and who is, no doubt, well known to many of the numerous English travellers, who are in the habit of frequenting that place, during the summer. The Colonel belongs to the liberal party, and was opposed to the Sonderbund, in whose cause his only son met his death. As it is usual in such cases, each party tries to turn the blame off its own shoulders and to fasten it on the other. It is certain however, that the Sonderbund-troops, before any actual declaration of war had been made, committed a violation of territory of the canton of Tessino, and paid the fearful penalty of their rashness. A succession of skirmishes between the two contending parties now ensued, for several consecutive days; for no other object and with no other result, it would seem, but that of mutual annoyance and slaughter. While hostilities had thus commenced, and were being prosecuted on the St. Gothard; the Sonderbund-cantons vigorously pushed forward their measures of defence. Every avenue of communication with the other and hostile cantons, was cut off in the most effectual manner. Some of the finest and most costly bridges in the country — those across the Reuss and the Sihl

— were burnt down; though they had not long been erected at considerable expense and difficulty. Beside, all the main-roads were cut up and barricaded by immense trees that had been felled and brought from a distance; while other parts were regularly and formidably sapped and mined. It is evident from these measures of defence, that the parties were preparing for a longer and more obstinate resistance than they really offered in the sequel.

In the mean time the military operations of General Dufour assumed a more active character, became better understood, and hastened to a crisis. He divided his disposable forces into two armies; the one consisting of about 30,000, with a considerable park of artillery, to operate against Friburg; and the other of nearly 50,000, concentrated on the right bank of the Reuss on the extreme limits of the cantons of Zurich and Argovie, to act against Lucerne. It was on this latter point, where, on Friday 12th November, the first engagement of any moment occurred between the hostile parties. The affair is generally called »the battle of Lunnern;« though it must be confessed, that the appellation appears a little too high sounding. There was but a small body of troops brought into action; and though, there was a great deal of firing — for a brisk cannonading could distinctly be heard in Zurich during several hours; yet, to judge from

the number of killed and wounded — the struggle could not have been very serious.

It appears, that on the day mentioned, General Salis-Soglio, commanding in person, advanced a considerable column of his troops, along the whole Eastern line of his position, on the right bank of the Reuss; for the purpose of crossing that river, and occupying that part of the canton of Argovie, which is situated on the left bank and called the Freiamt. This district is inhabited by a Roman Catholic population, well known for its strong and avowed attachment to the cause of the Sonderbund; and its decided disaffection for its own cantonal and Radical government. It was then, it would appear, the object of Salis-Soglio to make himself master of this populous part of Argovie, to effect the general levy of the people, and to overrun the whole of the canton. And, in order to divert the enemy's attention from the main point of his meditated attack, he caused a small detachment of his troops to advance, on his extreme right, upon the village of Cappel, in the Canton of Zurich — a place so memorable in Swiss history for the battle fought on 11th October 1531 in which Zwinglius fell — and where a few shots only were fired, and a speedy retreat of the troops effected. In the mean time the General moved, at the head of four battalions of infantry; a company of Carabineers and two batteries of artillery, to seize the pontoon-bridge across the

Reuss, near the village of Lunnern, and which was but feebly defended by an inconsiderable body of federal troops. Favored by the dense fog which prevailed that morning, he had nearly been successful in his enterprise and taken the enemy by surprise. But it seems, that the federal troops received information of the approach of the Sonderbund columns in sufficient time to remove, at least, part of the bridge; and while they were occupied in completing that work, Salis Soglio's force advanced to the brink of the river and opened a brisk fire on those on the opposite bank.

Here were posted Scheller's battery of Zurich artillery and Huber's two companies of Carabineers and riflemen, which returned the fire with such well-directed effect — being also supported by a detachment of the battalion Fäsi — as to repulse the Sonderbund troops with some loss in killed and wounded; one of their guns, an eight pounder, being dismounted early in the conflict. It may be observed here, that a rifleman, named Spörri, a mere youth, belonging to Zurich, distinguished himself in this affair, by his cool and steady behaviour. He posted himself behind a large oak-tree, which stands isolated, close to the river-side and in front of, and at a short distance from the village of Lunnern, whence he took deliberate aim at, and brought down a number of men from the enemy's ranks; and though hit by a cannon-ball and seriously wounded in the knee, yet he continued his

galling fire, whilst thus crippled and stretched on the ground, till struck by another shot, he became completely disabled and senseless.

The retreat of Salis-Soglio was followed also by that of Colonel Elgger, the second officer in command of the Sonderbund-troops. He had been dispatched, the same morning, to act on the extreme left of the line and on the upper part of the Reuss; and succeeded in advancing to the village of Geltwill in Argovie, where two companies of troops, belonging to that canton were posted, and who were driven out of the village at the point of the bayonet and put to flight. During the conflict Captⁿ Fischer of the federal army was killed on the spot; while, Lieutenant Schnyder, an officer of the Sonderbund-troops fell mortally wounded and shortly after expired. Colonel Elgger remained in undisturbed possession of the village of Geltwill for upwards of an hour; and retired to his former position, within the limits of the canton of Lucerne, on discovering the want of success and the retrograde movement of Salis-Soglio.

It is difficult to arrive at a satisfactory account of the number of killed and wounded in both these engagements; as the statements are most conflicting. It is certain however that the numbers are not, in any wise, proportionate to the numbers of cannon and other shots that were fired, and to the duration of the struggle. The firing lasted and was

distinctly heard in Zurich — where no small degree of panic prevailed — for some hours; and yet the number of killed, on the side of the federal-troops amounted to no more than five or six, and wounded to about as many again; while, on the side of the Sonderbund, no returns were made.

The scene, where these military operations took place, is well worthy of a visit from the intelligent traveller. Not only is the country most charming, with a magnificent view of the Righi and the Pilatus; but the whole district may justly be called classical ground. The village of Lunnern itself — which is situated in the canton of Zurich — must have been, at one time, a most important Roman station, from the vast quantity of antiquarian remains found in the place, during the last century. The ruins of an extensive temple, of baths, tombs and Roman workshops, have been discovered there and excavated; beside many pieces of golden chains, and coins of the reign of Vespasian and Constantine; and some of which may now be seen in the museum of the antiquarian Society of Zurich. On an elevation, close to the village, still called Isenberg, stood once a temple of Isis, faint remains of which are still to be traced.

And not only here, but throughout the whole extent of the charming valley of the Reuss, considerable quantities of Roman remains — coins, jars and especially tiles marked with the inscription of the XI and

XXI legions — have been, and are continually being found. Close to the small town of Zofingen, on the road to Lucerne — which is well deserving of a short visit — was discovered, in the year 1827, a very large Roman-villa, with two mosaic floors, beautifully wrought and well preserved; the largest of which measures thirty feet by twenty, and the whole ruin covers a space of 40,000 cubic feet.

Nor should the town of Bremgarten — the *Bromogartum*, or *Bromogardia* of the Romans — which is situated within this district, be passed by, without a visit. It has attained considerable celebrity, from its being the native place and early sphere of labour of Bullinger, the promoter of the Swiss Reformation, and the correspondent of Lady Jane Grey. By his labours and exertions, the doctrines of the Reformation were introduced and embraced in his native town and in the adjacent parts. But subsequently, the persecuting power of the Church of Rome being exerted to destroy the good work that had been begun, the people were forced back into the old superstition.

But the town of Bremgarten has in modern time become notable as the place of refuge of Louis Philippe, the present King of France. That Prince, under the assumed name of Corbi, resided here, in the house of the French emigrant General Montesquieu, during part of the year 1793, and, on his return from Reichenau, again in the years 1794 — 5; while his

sister, the lately deceased Princess Adelaide, and Madame de Genlis, in the strictest incognito, inhabited one of the convents in the town. There are still some individuals to be found at Bremgarten, who were living on a footing of intimacy with the present French King*); and at the Hotel of the three Kings are to be seen several objects presented to the proprietor, by the Princess Adelaide.

But we must needs recur to the military operations of the belligerent parties. It became generally known, on the opening of the campaign, that General Dufour would strike his first blow against the town of Friburg. Its defence had been entrusted to Colonel Maillardoz, an officer of acknowledged military talent and experience, who, for some time, filled the post of Vice-President of the federal Council of war; and with whom were associated Colonels Morez and Albiez; the latter having served in the French army

*) During Louis Phillipe's sojourn at Bremgarten, he carried on a confidential correspondence with Monsieur de Tscharner of Coire; in which he expressed himself very freely on the political state of France, and of his persuasion, that republican institutions would never be suited to that country. In one of his letters, the following piece of poetry occurs.

Plus on est élevé, plus on court de dangers.

Les grands pins sont en butte aux coups de la tempête,

Et la rage des vents brise plutôt le faite

Des maisons de nos rois, que les toits des bergers.

and taken part in the principal campaigns of Napoleon Bonaparte, by whom, on account of his personal bravery, he was raised from the ranks to the post of Captain in a regiment of the line. On the approach of the federal army, Colonel Maillardoz, addressed the following Proclamation to his troops :

»Soldiers of Friburg! The government has made known to the population of the canton, that all conciliatory measures offered to the Diet, having failed; no other alternative is left us, but to defend, with arms in our hands, our independence, our sovereignty, and our civil and religious institutions.«

»For this object, we have rallied around under our colours; and for this object too, we shall engage in combat with those of our countrymen, who, as instruments of a foreign Propaganda, would fain take upon themselves to mislead us likewise.«

»But strong in our rights, we will await, without provoking them; and, if they approach, they will find in us free men, worthy of the first founders of our national liberty; and your bayonets, soldiers, as well as your carbines, and the weapons of the Landsturm, shall make them repent of their coming.«

»Soldiers, and men of the Landsturm! Let your device be, order and discipline, courage and humanity; confidence in God, and obedience to your commanders.«

The forces at the disposal of Colonel Maillardoz,

and which were all concentrated in, and about the town of Friburg, from the time the federal troops had entered the canton, on 9th November, consisted of about 5000 regulars, of all arms; and from 6 to 7000 Landsturm-men, supplied with all kind of weapons, such as muskets, swords, lances, scythes and even pitchforks. The principal line of defence extended, for about two English miles, along the approaches from the Canton de Vaud; being protected by three strong and covered batteries. Separated from this line, by the entire town, the river Sarine and the splendid suspension bridge; other works had been constructed to defend Friburg against an attack, from the side of Berne, and by the approaching roads of Laupen and Neueneck. In like manner, the other two roads, leading to the town, from the southward, the one, on the left, from Guggisberg across the heights of Bourguillon; and the other on the right along the bank of the Sarine towards Marly, were defended by strong breast-works. Along the whole line of defence were distributed 31 pieces of ordonance of different calibre from 6 to 24 pounders.

The federal troops entered the Canton in two great Divisions; the one, approaching from the Canton de Vaud, and composed of the troops of that State and those of Geneva, under the command of Colonel Rilliet-Constant; and the other, coming from Berne, consisting of part of the contingents from most of the

other Cantons, and led by General Dufour and Colonel Burckhard; with the reserve headed by M. Ochsenbein, the President of the Diet. Colonel Rilliet-Constant advanced first with his troops on the 9th of November, occupying the districts of Stäffis, Dompierre, Chatel - St. - Denis and Rue; and pushing forward, on the following day to Bulle, Romont and Gruyère. He found, that, in most places, the male population had taken up arms and retired upon Friburg; this was specially the case at Chatel-St.-Denis, where all the men had fled, and the women shut themselves up in their houses, closing all the shutters, so that the town appeared quite deserted. On the 7th November, Colonel Rilliet published the following proclamation: »Men of Friburg and confederates!« »The federal troops are on the point of entering your canton, in obedience to the voice of Switzerland, our common country. Listen to this voice, which directs you to put confidence in us; and to regard us not as enemies, but as deliverers. I call upon you to suffer the long-repressed feelings to revive again in your bosom. God, who has created our native land – that God, whom both Catholics and Protestants alike acknowledge and worship – commands us, as brothers, to live together in amity and good will; to forget all that is passed, and to hold out to each other the right hand of good fellowship for the future.«

»If you obey the voice of that Being you will re-

ceive the federal troops with friendly feelings, and find in them brothers and protectors, ready to defend with their best blood, your rights, liberties and independence; those precious privileges which we, in common, share with you, and of which we would never deprive you. The conduct of our troops will prove to you, that these are not vain and empty words.«

»Armed men! Let me persuade you to lay down your arms, not to us, but to the banner, which is also yours — do not listen to a false and delusive feeling of ambition — true honour consists in respecting the Cross emblazoned on our banner, and not to treat it with despal. If you would do this, the contest between us is at an end; and those who take this resolve, are at once placed under the protection of the Confederation.«

»But, if, on the other hand, you have determined to offer resistance to the federal army, you will be regarded as rebels and traitors against our country, and treated too as such; and the lamentable consequences of such conduct will fall upon those, who have been your instigators.«

General Dufour, whose troops moved from Berne on 10th November, and entered the canton of Friburg by Morat, where they united with the Division Rilliet; addressed the following proclamation to the soldiers,

under his command, on 12th November, from his headquarters at Avenches :

»Soldiers of the confederation! You are now in presence of your adversaries, who, it seems, are determined to give you battle. Well, let them see to their cost, what it is to treat with contempt the decrees of the Diet and to set at defiance its troops.«

»Soldiers, placed under the federal banner, you are about to engage in conflict, for the purpose of upholding the lawful rights of the Confederation. I call for, and expect a manifestation of all your courage and devotedness. You hold the destinies of your native land in your hands. You will advance them by your valour, and prove to the world, that the Swiss-people have not become a degenerate race.«

»Victory awaits you — show yourselves worthy of it, by the manner in which you will use it. Spare the vanquished — and show yourselves as humane as you are brave.«

»Soldiers! I count on you, during these great and coming days — and you may also count on me. Obey your commanders — follow their example — they will lead you on the road of duty and honour.«

Late on Friday Evening, 12th November, the army had taken up its positions, around Friburg, enclosing the town, at a short distance, in the form of a half circle; the Division Rilliet being posted towards the South and West, forming the right wing; Burckhard's

columns the centre towards the Morat and Gumminen road — while the reserve, under Ochsenbein, was placed on the left, on the road of Laupen and Neueneck. Every preparation being thus made for a vigorous attack of the town, on the following day; General Dufour, dispatched early in the morning of Saturday an officer with a flag of truce, to demand, in the first instance, its surrender, in order to avoid the needless effusion of blood. And in truth, it seems, that a capitulation had already been determined on, by the Executive-Council of government and the military authorities in the town. During the night of Friday, the Council had met to consult the commanding officers, in respect to the best steps that were to be taken; and whether the town could really be defended with any probability of ultimate success. But it was found to be the general opinion, that, as no assistance, or relief could be expected to arrive either from the side of Lucerne or that of the Valais; it were in vain to hold out against so overwhelming and unequal a force as that which was around Friburg; and that it were advisable and prudent to seek to obtain the best possible terms of capitulation. Accordingly an armistice was asked for and granted, for the space of 24 hours; and which was to expire early on Sunday morning.

In the mean time a serious collision took place between the hostile troops, late on Saturday evening,

on the extreme right of Rilliet's Division. The officer in command of a detachment posted in the woods of Daillettes, being either ignorant, or pretending to be so, of the existing armistice; made an attack on one of the outworks in front of that line of defence, and succeeded also in carrying it and repulsing the enemy. In the conflict, however, thirteen soldiers were killed, and several seriously wounded.

On the expiration of the armistice, on Sunday morning 14th November, Friburg was surrendered, by capitulation on the following conditions: 1) The government of Friburg formally renounces the Sonderbund. 2) The federal troops take possession of the town in the course of that day. 3) The town is to support the troops according to the federal regulations and discipline. 4) The government of Friburg agrees immediately to disband its troops, and to deposit the arms of the Landsturm in the arsenal; giving an inventory thereof to the federal authorities. 5) The federal troops are to occupy the gates and other public posts of the town, and are charged to render the authorities, every assistance in maintaining the public order; while to the inhabitants guarantees are given for the necessary security of person and property. 6) That the Diet is to adjust all such unforeseen contingencies as may arise.

With the surrender of Friburg, its government had ceased to exist, by an act of self-destruction. The

principal members and those who had been most active in the support of the Sonderbund, and in open resistance to the Diet, M. Fournier and M. Morel, had fled, on the approach of danger. These individuals, saw fit in their exculpation, to publish the following manifesto addressed to their fellow-citizens, and in which they say: »Do not accuse, dear fellow-citizens, your late magistrates of the act of having betrayed and abandoned your cause. They would have been ready, in case of need, to have fought by your side and to have shed their last drop of blood in your behalf; and as long as any hope of success remained, they had determined to hold out. But, when they found themselves standing alone in the combat, abandoned by their allies and menaced on every side by a superior force, which had possession of those points, that commanded the town; they recoiled from the fearful consequences of a continued resistance, by which they would have had to sacrifice, if not their honour, but thousands of lives, perhaps; the choicest part of the population; and expose the town, taken by assault, to all the horrors of pillage and devastation. On these grounds, we deemed it advisable to accept the terms proposed by the Commander-in-chief of the federal army. At the same time, we are fully conscious of the mortification which this measure has caused you all, dear fellow-citizens, as, indeed, it has created the same feelings in us likewise. We have

seen the tears of grief, which you have been weeping, and our's were copiously mingled with yours. May the God of our fathers, protect you and us by his own power.«

Nor can it be doubted, that the surrender of Friburg really produced in the troops, and especially in the Landsturm, considerable disappointment and even exasperation. Many, when it became known, that the town had capitulated, were, with difficulty, restrained from laying violent hands on their officers, whom they loudly accused of cowardice and treachery; and a great portion of the Landsturm actually refused to give up their arms, a circumstance, which afterwards led to such disastrous consequences. The peasantry composing the Landsturm had, in fact, been wound up, by their priests and itinerant Jesuit-preachers, to such a pitch of enthusiasm, or rather fanaticism, as to believe in their own invincibility. They had been gravely assured, that, when the federal army should approach and attempt to take Friburg, the Virgin Mary would visibly appear in the clouds, to protect and save the town, and strike the impious invaders with blindness. Many of the soldiers were found to wear medals with pictures of the Virgin, and which, they had been assured would, render their persons proof against every kind of weapon. The Jesuits, moreover, sold to those poor and deluded creatures, scraps of paper — at the rate of from 2 to 7

Batz, *) on which was written: „oh thou immaculate Virgin Mary, pray for us, who look unto thee for help and protection“ — and to which was added: „Whosoever wears this medal and devoutly uses this invocation of the Virgin, is placed under the special protection of the Mother of God; in accordance with Mary's own gracious promises.“

When the federal troops entered Friburg, according to the capitulation, on Sunday morning 14th November, they were generally well received, with loud acclamations and demonstrations of joy; though several shots were fired upon them from one or two houses, in the outskirts of the town, where some of the fanatical Landsturm-men had taken refuge. It appears also, that other acts of outrage and assassination were shortly after committed upon some of the Bernese and Vaudois soldiery — and it was reported too, that the life of an officer, Colonel Girardin, had been attempted — by those misguided men. Whether these disgraceful proceedings gave rise to, or were made the pretext for the scandalous and cruel excesses which were afterwards committed by the federal troops, on some of the inhabitants of Friburg, in direct violation of the terms of the capitulation, it were hard to determine. But that such outrages were really perpetrated, especially by the Bernese troops, admits of no doubt.

*) From three pence to ten pence English money.

It appears, that several houses in and about the town — particularly those of the Chancellor Vonderweid, the late Avoyer Fournier and M. Diesbach's — were completely sacked and gutted. And the same fate, according to all accounts, befel also the Jesuit-college — called the *Pensionnat* — an edifice which is the pride of Friburg; and which lately harboured no less than 800 pupils, from most parts of Europe. These had left the town a short time before its surrender; and the vacated building was now occupied by bands of soldiers, who wantonly demolished a great portion of the interior; breaking the furniture and otherwise carrying on the work of destruction. It were not an easy matter to describe the disorder and anarchy which prevailed in Friburg, and the excesses that were committed, during the first 24 hours of its occupation by the federal troops; notwithstanding all the efforts used by the officers, to prevent the disgraceful proceedings. But it would seem that, for a time, all military discipline was ineffectual to restrain the ungovernable passions of the furious soldiery. The commander, Colonel Rilliet, was, accordingly, obliged, on 15th November, to declare the town in a state of siege, and to put it under martial law. Nor were the scenes of disorder limited to the town alone, but they overspread a great portion of the Canton. This appears evident, from a communication addressed to the Diet, by the three Commissioners, whom that

Assembly had sent to Friburg, immediately on its occupation by the federal army. It is observed in that communication, that „the greatest disorder and anarchy prevail in the canton, still unoccupied by federal troops — and especially in its German districts — owing to bands of armed men, belonging to the Landsturm, being at large and creating disturbances.“

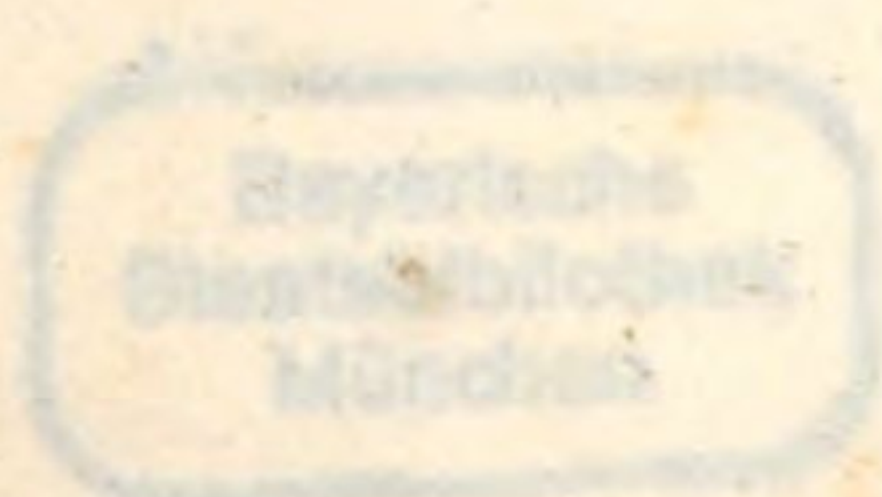
It cannot be denied, that the bigoted peasantry, of the Landsturm, and, in many instances, led by their priests, equipped in armour, wantonly fired upon the federal troops, massacred several soldiers, posted as sentries near the town; and otherwise perpetrated acts of cruelty and slaughter. Thus, in an official report, by one of Colonel Rilliet's officers, commanding a battalion, it is stated; that two Vaudois sentries had been shot dead at their posts, the day after the surrender of Friburg, by Landsturm-men — and that the parish-priest of the village of Sales, M. Vuilleret, had attempted to stab a soldier, at his post, in the dusk of the evening, and had been arrested and given over to the military authorities. It is reported too, that, when the Brigade Bontems was marching out of Friburg, on its return to Berne, it was fired upon, from a house, at the distance of about a mile from the town. The soldiers, rushing upon the place, and discovering the perpetrator to be an ecclesiastic, disguised as a peasant, were in the act of dispatching him, when the officers interposed, rescuing the wret-

ched man from his imminent peril, and directing him to flee for his life. But he was not allowed to proceed very far, before some shots were fired which stretched him dead on the ground. It makes the heart sick to dwell on all the scenes of wanton cruelty and slaughter, which occurred in the few days that immediately succeeded the occupation of Fribourg; and which are the more painful to contemplate, as they were chiefly instigated by those, who ought to have been the guides of the deluded people to different feelings and acts, namely, those of order, peace and submission. To estimate the manner and degree in which the peasantry of this canton had been deluded and wrought upon, it is worthy of remark, that, on the approach of the federal troops, the women with their children by their side, for the most part, issued forth from their villages to meet the advancing columns; and falling upon their knees, with uplifted hands, entreated the soldiers — as though they had been a band of savage cannibals — to spare, at least, the lives of their offspring, even though they themselves were doomed to die. And it appears, that they were as much surprised as delighted at being raised from the ground; and receiving the readiest and kindest assurances of protection and safety.

In consequence of the rigorous measures adopted by Colonel Rilliet-Constant, to whom the military command of Friburg had been entrusted, tranquillity

was completely restored, by the 19th November; when the town was declared to be no longer in a state of siege and martial law ceased to be enforced. In the interval a provisional government had been formed, of whose political complexion we need give no further description, than that which will appear from the first decree which it issued, and which is to the following effect: 1) »That the Jesuits with all their affiliated orders, are in perpetuity banished from the canton of Friburg. 2) In this measure are included the different orders of monks and nuns — whose designation is added — established in the canton. 3) That it is prohibited to these several corporations, or congregations, to enter again, in the future, the canton, under any other name or designation; to acquire or hold any property in the territory; or to preside over any educational establishment, whether public or private. 4) That the individuals included in these different corporations or orders, are required to quit the canton within three times 24 hours from the date of this decree; and 5) That all the property, movable or immovable, possessed by those corporations, becomes now the property of the State; and is to be applied for purposes of public instruction.«

And shortly after the publication of the afore-going decree, the provisional government issued a second; by which the members of the late government were declared responsible for the war and its consequences.

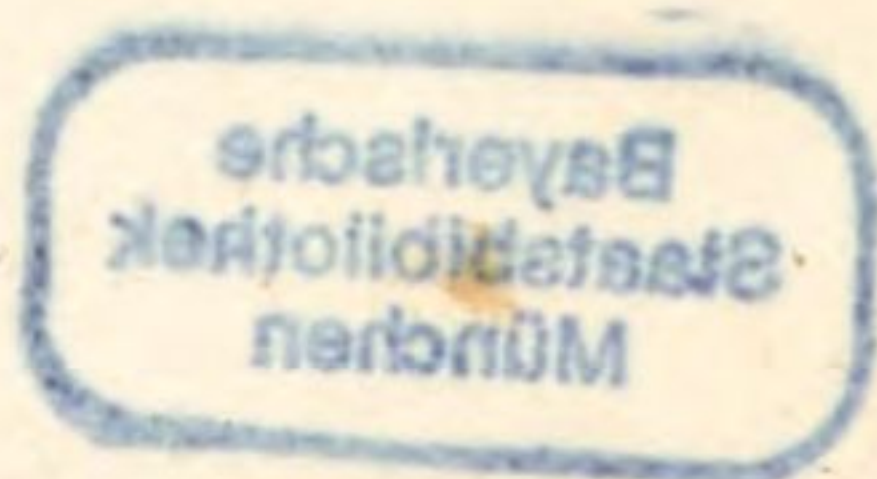


The first article of that decree sets forth: »That the following persons shall be brought to trial as guilty of high-treason, or of complicity in that crime and liable to pay indemnity to the State.« Then follows a long list of persons, divided into three categories. The first comprises all the members of the late government (the Council of State, who were instrumental in forming the Sonderbund, or who offered resistance to the decrees of the Diet) the members of the Council of war of the Sonderbund, and the two Deputies to the Diet, in all 16 persons; at the head of whom are to be found M. Fournier, and M. Weck, the two Avoyers. The second category includes 46 accused persons — all members of the Grand Council; and 12 of whom are Judges of Appeal. In this list are the Syndic, President of the Council, and other high functionaries who are accused of high-treason for having voted, on 9th June 1846, the adhesion of the canton of Friburg to the separate alliance; and offered on 18th October 1847 resistance to the decree of the Diet. The third category includes specially, if not exclusively, the military authorities. It contains the names of 20 accused persons; among whom stands first and foremost that of Colonel Maillardoz, the late Commander-in-chief of the Friburg forces — M. Morel, Judge of Appeal and chief of a Brigade — Colonel Albiez, and M. Surbeck, commander of the Landsturm — M. Diesbach, aide de camp — Lieutenant Salis Soglio, and other officers. All

these individuals, 82 in number are, according to the second article: „to be cited before the ordinary tribunals, which are to decide on the penalties incurred, and the part of the indemnity to be paid by each of them. All the accused, without exception, are deprived of their political rights, and declared, for the present, incapable of fulfilling public functions; their properties are immediately to be put under sequestration, by the respective justices of the peace, under the inspection of the Prefects.“

Thus was Friburg detached from the Sonderbund and revolutionised; its late government broken up, scattered, fugitive, and proscribed, within a very few days, without so much as a single blow being struck in vindication of the rights it claimed; and notwithstanding all its military preparations and high-sounding language, and the tone of defiance assumed by its Deputies towards the Diet. We shall not stop here to account for this tame submission, as we propose to recur to the subject in a future stage of these pages; when we shall arrive at the total dissolution of the Sonderbund. We would only observe, that Friburg has ever been regarded as the most decided stronghold of the Romish-Church in Switzerland. The Jesuits were introduced here by Carlo Borromeo, as early as the year 1580; and continued to exist ever since, though, under a different name, during the time of the suppression of the order, by Clement XIV, till

its restoration by Pius, the seventh. Their activity and influence were not limited to this canton only, but perceptibly and extensively felt throughout the length and breadth of the land; and especially in the last few years, during which their missionaries and itinerating preachers had assumed a more bold and aggressive tone and attitude. It is a remarkable fact — and supplies another proof of the adaptability of the Church of Rome to every kind of government — that while the constitution of the canton of Friburg is purely democratic, and excludes the clergy from every electoral-privilege, still, all the returns of the members of Council are dependent, in a great measure, on the will of the priesthood. It is here, as it is the case in another country which needs no particular mention — being well known — where the will of the priest is omnipotent. Beside the ordinary parochial clergy, the number of monks and friars is very considerable in the canton. In the town of Friburg alone, with a population of about 9000 souls, there are no less than 9 convents, five monasteries and four nunneries. The peasantry, especially in the German districts of the canton, are in a state of the grossest darkness and superstition, and bound fast in the trammels of popish subjection. There is, however, a part of the canton, which has a Protestant population of about 8000 souls. In the town of Morat — or Murten as it is called in German — to the north of Friburg — and in its ad-



jacent districts, the doctrines of the Reformation were introduced, and gained a permanent footing, at a very early period of time. Here Farel first preached the Gospel, in the year 1529; and, on 7th January 1530, the town formally separated from the Church of Rome, and adopted the reformed creed and mode of worship.

For the rest, we may state here, that Morat is a place of great antiquity; it is mentioned in the acts of the Council of Epona, in 516, by the name of *Curtis Muraltum*; and, in the Chronicle of the eleventh century, it is described as *Castrum Murtena*. It has attained to an imperishable celebrity, by the resistance its inhabitants successfully offered — with such unequal forces — to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy; and the total defeat, which, on 22nd June 1476, that Prince sustained, immediately under its walls. *) In the Hotel de Ville are still to be seen relics of the battle and some curious and ancient Burgundian ar-

*) With a garrison of 1500 men only, did Adrian de Bubenberg, the chief magistrate of Berne, defend the town for the space of six weeks, against Charles of Burgundy's overwhelming forces of 60,000 chosen troops; who were valiantly repulsed in repeated assaults and finally defeated, by an army but half of their number, consisting of the combined forces of the Swiss Confederates; and when 30,000 Burgundians, are said to have fallen, in dead and wounded, on the field of battle. Many thousands were driven into the adjacent lake and

mour. The Castle of Morat, which is of Gothic architecture, with its quaint towers, pinnacles and battlements, is well worthy of attention and inspection.

But we must needs return to the recital of the consecutive military operations, and the conflicts which took place between the contending parties. The first occurrence of any importance, and which comes next in order; is the advantage which the Sonderbund troops gained over those of the canton of Tessino, on the St.-Gothard. It has been noticed before, that trifling engagements and outposts-skirmishes had occurred almost daily between those troops, since the commencement of hostilities. But it appears, that, on 17th November, a considerable force, chiefly consisting of riflemen from the canton of Uri, descended the Gothard, towards Airolo, and completely routed the Tessinese-troops. The forces of the assailants have been rated at from 3 to 4000 men; but it seems very

met with a watery grave. It is related, that, when Napoleon Bonaparte passed through Morat, in the year 1797, and surveyed the field of battle, he remarked to one of his companions: »Jeune Capitaine, si jamais nous livrons bataille en ces lieux, soyez persuadé que nous ne prendrons pas le lac pour retraite.«

On the stone-column erected, in 1822, on the field of battle, the following inscription appears. »Victoriam 22 Juni 1476 patrum concordia, partam nova signat lapide Respublica Friburg.«

doubtful, whether even half of that number took part in the expedition. It is, however, certain, that the Tessino-troops, whose numbers appear to have been quite equal, if not superior to their opponents, took to their heels before a shot was fired, throwing away their arms, and making straight for Bellinzona, a distance of about 20 miles. A company of riflemen, indeed, and a few artillery-men made a momentary stand to face the enemy; but finding themselves abandoned by the rest of the troops, they retreated likewise in great haste and confusion. That no loss in killed or wounded, on either side, was sustained under such circumstances, needs scarcely to be mentioned. The Sonderbund-troops after occupying Airolo, a large village of nearly 2000 inhabitants, advanced, on the following day, three leagues farther, to Faido, the chief-place in the district of Levantine, which they held in occupation for some days. The greatest consternation prevailed at Bellinzona and Lugano, the whole canton was declared in a state of siege; and Colonel Luvini used every exertion to rally his fugitive troops, and to concentrate a sufficient force wherewith to attack and repel the invaders. In the mean while auxiliary-troops had arrived, by forced marches, from the Grisons, across the Bernardin, whose presence greatly raised the courage of the Tessino-troops; who now prepared to march against the Sonderbund forces. These however, retired, on 22th No-

vember, from the southern side of the Gothard altogether; taking up their position, as before, at the Hospice, which they finally evacuated, after the capture of Lucerne.

It was generally reported that the Sonderbund-troops had committed great excesses and many acts of cruelty, while in possession of Airolo and Faido; and it was stated in particular, that, one of their riflemen — from Uri — had wantonly and deliberately shot dead a defenceless and harmless young woman, who was standing by the door of her own dwelling. Such, however, is not the fact. It is true, that a female was shot, but purely by accident; and some articles which had been abstracted from the inhabitants by a few soldiers, were afterwards restored.

General Dufour, having, after the reduction of Friburg, effected a concentration of all his disposable forces around the canton of Lucerne; made now preparation for attacking that territory and its town. And while the troops were taking up their proper and assigned positions, a foolish and useless attempt was made, on 20th November, by a small detachment of Sonderbund-troops; composed of the Schwytz and Zug contingents, to invade the canton of Zurich at Knobenau, a village situated on the road from that town to Lucerne; and to fall on the battalion Brunner which was posted there. But the assailants were quickly repulsed and pursued as far as Steinhausen, in the

canton of Zug. On this occasion, as well as on others, a great deal of firing took place — for the reports of the cannons were plainly heard in the town of Zurich, for some hours — without any loss of life and scarcely any one being wounded. We leave this to be explained by persons more competent to the task, and rejoice in the fact, that so few have fallen during the whole of the unhappy contest.

Meanwhile, the Canton of Zug sent, on Sunday 25th November, a flag of truce to the head-quarters of General Dufour at Argovie, offering to capitulate; and the terms — entirely similar to those of Friburg — being agreed upon; the Federal troops, consisting of the Division Gmür, entered that town on the evening of Monday 22nd November. Zug, though wholly a Roman Catholic canton was the most moderate member of the League, and always opposed to extreme measures. The canton contains a large portion of Liberals, and who favour the movement. Hence it is not surprising, that the Federal army was received in the town with unusual expressions of rejoicing and popular enthusiasm. When the first battalion of the Zurich-Landwehr entered Zug, at 8 o'Clock on Monday Evening, by moonlight, the scene was truly splendid. The whole population paraded the town, receiving the troops with tumultuous acclamations; many females being dressed in their holyday garb, preceding the soldiery and singing national airs; while, on the appearance of

Colonel Gmür with his Staff, the air was rent with the loudest exclamations: »Away with the Sonderbund — Success to the Federal army.« The Schwytz-troops, who had occupied Zug before its capitulation, could with difficulty be prevailed upon, to retire peaceably, but persisted to the last in fighting the Federal army single-handed. When they retired at last, they vented their rage in firing some shots into the houses of those inhabitants, who were known to be the leaders of the Liberal party.

On the same day, when Zug received the Federal troops, General Dufour, breaking up his head-quarters at Argovie, and moving the whole of the army forward towards Lucerne, issued the following proclamation:

»Soldiers of the Swiss Confederation! You are about to enter the canton of Lucerne; and the moment you cross the border of that State, you are required to lay aside every rancorous feeling, and to think only of fulfilling those duties which your country demands at your hands. Advance boldly and valiantly against the enemy; behave bravely during the conflict, and stand to your colours to the last drop of your life's blood.«

»But when victory shall be our's, then stifle every vindictive feeling — be generous warriors; treat the vanquished with kindness and indulgence; and by such conduct will you display true valour. Under all cir-

cumstances do that which I have before recommended you. Pay proper respect to the Churches and all edifices set apart for Divine worship. Nothing is likely to bring a greater stain on your colours, than outrages committed against religion. Especially I would have you to protect the defenceless; and never suffer such to be insulted or evil-entreated. Commit no acts of wanton destruction, or any waste; in short, conduct yourselves worthy of the name you bear, and make yourselves justly respected even by your enemies."

Every disposition being now made, on the part of the Commander-in-chief, for the reduction of Lucerne, the army was put in motion, on Monday 22nd November. There are five main-roads leading to that town; on each of which the different columns were simultaneously to move forward. The Division Donats was directed to advance from the North, by the town of Sursee; and the reserve, under Colonel Ochsenbein, from the South-west, by the Entlibuch. To Burckhard's Division was assigned the road, from the North-west, by Hutwyl and Willisau; while to the forces under Colonels Ziegler and Gmür, the Eastern lines of approach had been appointed; to the former that which runs from the canton of Argovie by Muri and Münster; and to the latter, that from Zurich, along the lake of Zug. These two lines of road meet together at the Gislikon-bridge; that from Argovie, running along the left bank of the Reuss and crossing

that river, unites on the other side of the bridge with the Zurich line of road, that runs along the right bank. And as it was to be foreseen, that the principal struggle would take place, on this line of approach — from the peculiar facility of access to the town of Lucerne — the chief works of defence had been constructed here, by the Commander of the Sonderbund-troops.

The operations commenced, according to some accounts, at 5 o'Clock, on Tuesday morning, 23rd November; when Colonel Ziegler directed a bridge of boats to be thrown across the Reuss, from Sins *), on the left, to the opposite bank. The communication being established by 7 o'Clock, the passage immediately commenced by a portion of Ziegler's Division; composed of five battalions of Zurich infantry, four of Argovian troops, four companies of Carabineers, two batteries of artillery, one of 12 and the other of 6 guns; and a squadron of Dragoons, all placed under the command of Colonel Egloff. These troops were to move by the village of St. Wolfgang, on the road from Zu-

*) This village, in the canton of Argovie, has repeatedly been the scene of important military operations. In the year 1712, the Bernese troops were defeated and repulsed here, by the troops of the Roman Catholic cantons, in the religious war of that period; and in the year 1799 the French army constructed redoubts here.

rich to Lucerne; and attack on the flank a redoubt of great strength constructed at Honau, a hamlet on the extreme border of the Canton, and which was to prevent the Federal troops from penetrating to Gislikon and its bridge. At the same time, another Brigade, commanded by Colonel Muller, was detached, on the left bank of the river against Dietwyl, to attack the same position in front; a squadron of Soleure-cavalry being sent in advance, beyond that village with a view of drawing off the enemy's attention from the advance of the Egloff column. At nine o'clock in the morning, the Lucerne batteries at Honau opened their fire upon the advancing columns of the Federal troops; but being speedily silenced by the Zurich artillery which advanced at full trot, the enemy was driven from his position and thrown back upon the village of Gislikon. The battalion Ginsberg, which was principally engaged at Honau and exposed to the firing of the battery, sustained the most considerable loss in killed and wounded. The Brigade Ritter which had been detached early in the morning from the Division Gmür, united with Egloff's column at Honau, and assisted in the destruction of the redoubt and the repulse of the enemy. The next point of attack was the strong position at Gislikon; where it was expected that the Brigade Muller marching by Dietwyl, would have arrived in time to co-operate with Egloff's columns. But, owing to the obstacles that Brigade had to encounter

on its approach to the bridge, where strong breast-works had been thrown up, the firing had commenced long before those troops came into their assigned position; the battalion Fäsi advancing slowly, with some loss in wounded. The village of Gislikon was well defended by a formidable battery of Lucerne artillery; while the heights around the village were occupied by large bodies of riflemen from Unterwalden; the Land-sturm being posted, in considerable force, in the surrounding woods. The position was strong and well-chosen, and, on its defence, depended the fate of Lucerne. Here then, the principal struggle took place; and almost all the battalions of Egloff's Brigade came quickly into action, and especially the Thurgovian Carabineers, who were in advance of the rest of the troops. The conflict, at this point, lasted several hours, was very severe, and with alternating success. Already had the slopes about Gislikon been taken by the Federalists, and a battery of Soleure-artillery advanced and posted there to act against the enemy; when the Sonderbund-troops, rallying, charged with such impetuosity, that they recovered their lost ground, and drove the artillery from its position. At this critical moment some of the heavy Bernese-artillery was brought up, supported by the battalion Benz and a company of Carabineers, led most gallantly by Captain Steinmann; and opened such an effective fire on the Sonderbund-troops, as to force them, not only from

their position, but to make them abandon altogether the entrenched work about Gislikon and retire towards Lucerne. The victory was so complete and decisive that the road to Lucerne, from that point, was now quite open and free from further obstacles; and that town might have been occupied the same evening by Ziegler's Division, if it had not been regarded prudent by that officer to halt for the night at Roth — a village 5 miles from the town — and to unite first with Gmür's force, which was employed to attack, the same morning the enemy's position at the Rothenberg.

The Rothenberg is a beautiful and picturesque mountain, of considerable elevation — thickly planted along its sides with various fruit-trees and well wooded to the very top — situated a little to the East of Gislikon, between the river Reuss and the lake of Zug; and extending its lowest slopes near to the village of Küssnacht, on the extremity of the lake of Lucerne. A branch-road runs from Cham, in the canton of Zug, towards Lucerne, along the Eastern base of the Rothenberg, where Salis-Soglio had posted several battallions of the Sonderbund-troops, beside a considerable body of the Landsturm and artillery, to defend the pass. The position, however, had become considerably weakened, on the preceding day, by the unaccountable retirement of the greater portion of the Schwytz troops, under the command of Colonel Aby-

berg, who withdrew within the limits of their own canton and occupied the village of Art.

To force the position of the Rothenberg simultaneously with that of Gislikon, was assigned to the Brigades Isler and Ritter; both forming part of Gmür's Division, and the latter being, for a short time present — as already named — in the engagement at Honau. But being detached from Egloff's columns, the Brigade moved to the left on the road to Buonas, and first fell in with the enemy near Risch,*) a small village, close to the lake of Zug. Here an obstinate engagement took place, which lasted for some time; the Sonderbund-forces being most favourably posted in the surrounding woods and protected by formidable barricades of felled trees. On the first attack being made by four battalions of Federal troops, supported by the battery Heyland, no advantage could be gai-

*) The country around this village is notable in Swiss history, for three memorable battles which have been fought here. In 1318 the people of the Four-Forest-cantons, being put under the ban of the Church, defeated here the troops of the neighbouring Nobles, who had been instigated by the Pope and Austria to take up arms against them. On 17 March, 1333, the Lucernese obtained a victory over the Austrians, near this place; the spot being still marked by a small Chapel. And again, in the year 1352, during the siege of Zurich; the Four-Forest-cantons fought here with an Austrian force; the conflict being of doubtful issue.

ned, owing to the difficulty of the ground. Indeed, the Zurich-battalion was repulsed, losing one of its bravest officers, a Captain of Carabineers; but by a renewed and more vigorous attack, and the effective fire of the artillery, the Sonderbund-troops were dislodged and driven from their strong position; retiring in two detachments, the one to the right, along the defiles of the Rothenberg, and the other to the left towards the Kiemen, a rocky promontory, which rises abruptly from the lake of Zug. During the engagement the Sonderbund-troops had fired two mines, which produced, however, no mischievous effects.

While Ritter's Brigade pursued the enemy's column that retired towards the Kiemen, the Brigade Isler closely followed that which retreated by the Rothenberg; and coming up with it at Meyerskappel, the first village in the canton of Lucerne, a brisk engagement ensued. The Sonderbund-troops had here also the advantage in point of position; being protected on every side by the surrounding woods. They fired upon the advancing Federalists from every house and garden; and from the church-steeple, where a considerable body had been posted. But they were speedily driven out of the village, retiring, at first, slowly and orderly along the slopes of the Rothenberg; and, subsequently, when closely pursued, breaking into a hasty flight and retreating to the town of Lucerne. The Brigade Isler cleared that evening [the defiles of the

Rothenberg, and advanced to the village of Udligenschwyl, on the southern slope of that mountain, where the troops bivouacked for the night.

And in following again the movements of the other Brigade — Ritter's — we find, that it was equally successful in overthrowing the enemy on every point of his positions on the Kiemen. Two battalions of Schwytz-troops — Bähler and Dobler — had taken this line of retreat; and, occupying the wooded and rocky declivities of the mountain — with a rapid torrent dashing from its side, in front of their position — disputed for a time the further progress of the Federalists. But these, gallantly overcoming every obstacle, drove the Schwytzers from point to point, and finally right across the Kiemen to Küssnacht; while they bivouacked that night on its dreary summit. With these engagements on the Kiemen, terminated not only the fighting of that day, but also that of the whole war. Lucerne was now prostrate, and the chief point of resistance demolished. The officers, who mostly contributed to the victorious issue of the day, were Colonels Ziegler and Egloff, as well as the two commanders Ritter and Isler; all of whom distinguished themselves by their personal bravery and military skill. It will, perhaps, scarcely be credited, that in all the different engagements, there were not more than about 25 killed and 93 wounded; an astonishing paucity of numbers in comparison with the

masses brought into collision, and the duration of the combat.

It is necessary, however, that we turn our looks to another quarter of the canton of Lucerne, which was, on the same day also the scene of deadly conflict. While the actions, to which we have referred, were being fought in the Eastern part of the Canton, an engagement took place, on the same day, in the South-western part, between the reserve under Colonel Ochsenbein and a detachment of the Sonderbund-troops. Advancing, as was stated before, by the Entlibuch, the Bernese-forces had penetrated as far as Escholz matt, without meeting with any resistance. But, on leaving that village, on Monday 22nd November, and moving towards Schüpfheim; the column met with a detachment of the Sonderbund-troops, ready to dispute its further progress. A slight engagement ensued here, and which issued quickly in the retreat of the latter; while the former occupied that evening the left bank of the river Emme, very near the village of Schüpfheim. This position, however, was attacked, at 7 o'Clock in the morning of Tuesday, by a strong body of Sonderbund-troops, both in front, by artillery, and on its flank, by some companies of Carabineers, which had come across the mountains from the valley of Flühli, supposed to have formed part of the Unterwalden contingent. Thus Ochsenbein's reserve, being placed between two fires, had to sustain

a severe conflict for about an hour; at the end of which the Sonderbund forces were worsted on both sides and compelled to retreat. During the engagement, some houses in the village of Schüpheim took fire and were burnt to the ground. The number of killed and wounded amounted to 27; seven of the former and 20 of the latter. But the Federalists experienced no further opposition in their advance towards Lucerne. Indeed, the other two Divisions — those of Donats and Burckardt — moving in the same direction, by Sursee and Willisau; fell in with no detachment of the enemy's forces along the whole line of their march, and never fired a shot. All the obstacles they had to encounter were some barricades of felled trees and stones, that had to be removed; but to their astonishment they found no obstruction or resistance on crossing the bridge of the river Emme, and the narrow gorge which admits of being so easily defended.

In truth the struggle was at an end, with the action at Gislikon. It appears, that General Salis-Soglio, being wounded in the face, by a canister-shot during the early part of the engagement at Honau, was obliged to retire from the field; though, after he had been struck down, he made an effort to resume his post, but unsuccessfully so, as he fell a second time to the ground senseless, overcome by the loss of blood. The command now devolved on Colonel Elgger, as-

sisted by Prince Schwarzenberg*), in whom the troops seemed to have little or no confidence. When, therefore, the works at Gislikon had been taken, and the position of the Rothenberg turned by Gmür's Division, the Sonderbund-troops, dispirited and depressed, lost all discipline and fled in disorder to Lucerne; where they dispersed into different parts, leaving the town utterly undefended; and where the greatest confusion prevailed, in consequence of the flight of the principal members of the Executive government. At Lucerne, as well as Friburg those who had been instrumental in raising the storm, were the first to flee from its fury, when it was ready to burst in all its desolating power. Siegwart Müller and his coadjutors, on learning the issue of the conflict at Gislikon, embarked on Tuesday evening on board of the Steamer — which had been secured for such an emergency — accompanied also by a number of Jesuits and nuns from the different convents; and made the best of their way to Altdorf in the canton of Uri, whence

*) This Prince who, with some other Austrian officers, had come all the way from Vienna to fight for the Sonderbund; presented, according to the best public accounts, a somewhat inglorious appearance. He and his companions published, in the Newspapers, on their safe arrival at Milan, a corrected account of their exploits, but it is doubtful whether they mended matters much.

they escaped into Italy. It has been reported – and it is generally believed – that, when Salis-Soglio reached Lucerne, shortly after he had left the field at Gislikon, and inquiring for the heads of the government, was told, that they had fled, exclaimed: „that he would never have undertaken the command of the troops, if he could have imagined he had to deal with such knaves.“

As soon as it became known, that the government had ceased to exist and taken to flight, the town-council of Lucerne assembled; and resolved to offer terms of capitulation to the Commander-in-chief of the Federal troops. A flag of truce was, accordingly, sent to General Dufour with proposals of surrendering the town, on certain conditions. That officer, however, refused to listen to all other terms but unconditional submission; which being also agreed to, the Federal army entered Lucerne at noon, on Wednesday 24th November; the Divisions Ziegler and Gmür taking the lead, and being followed, in the course of the day, by the others; while the reserve under Colonel Ochsenbein took up its headquarters at Kriens, a village at the foot of mount Pilatus. The Federal-troops were remarkably well received at Lucerne, by a large portion of its population, and none of those excesses were committed here as at Friburg; though the houses of the late members of the government and their immediate adherents were plundered and damaged by the

soldiery, despite of the unremitting exertions of the officers to protect life and property. An attempt was made, on the part of some Argovian troops, to break into the Church of the Jesuits, which was frustrated by the personal efforts of Colonel Denzler; sentries being placed around all the Churches, to protect them against acts of violence and profanation.

And before we proceed with our narrative, we would retrace our steps and look back on the scenes of action, noting down some incidents, which came to pass there; and for the accuracy of which we have the best and most undoubted authority.

It is related by an eye-witness, who had entered the village of Honau, immediately after its capture by the Federal troops, that the scene which presented itself to his view was striking and singular, and full of the most melancholy interest. He beheld some of the houses on fire and rapidly burning down, while parties of soldiers were going about in search of provisions and objects of plunder; breaking doors and windows, and committing other acts of violence. Around the village-church were to be seen, in strange and confused grouping, the bodies of the slain and wounded, lying by the side of dead horses and different kinds of armour; while a 12 pound cannon-ball lay close by the church-door, as if in its fall, it had respected the precincts of the sacred edifice. Two young soldiers belonging to one of the Zurich-batta-

lions were seated by the side of the corpse of their late sergeant, weeping like children. On being addressed by the individual who relates these particulars, they were unable to answer his questions, their utterance being choked by the excess of their sobbing and feeling. And though the spectacle of weeping soldiers on the field of battle may be of rare occurrence; yet are the tender emotions of the human heart not to be despised, even amid the stern scenes of war.

The next object which engaged our informant's attention was that of a party of soldiers, pursuing and taking prisoner one of the Lucerne-Landsturm-men; who, though falling on his knees, and, with uplifted hands, imploring for mercy, would yet have been massacred on the spot, if he had not been rescued, with some difficulty, by some officers who chanced to come up at the time. In connexion with this, we may mention a similar scene that occurred, on the same day, in another part of the field. A party of five Landsturm-men had been taken prisoners by some soldiers belonging to a battalion of the canton of Glarus; who were preparing to shoot their captives, notwithstanding the most urgent remonstrances of the military Chaplain. Finding, however, his earnest entreaties of no avail, and yet determined to do his best to save the prisoners, he placed himself in front of them, and declared that he should be the first fired upon, before

any harm were done to those near him. This resolute act had the desired effect; the lives of the five men were spared. The clergyman bears the inappropriate name of Strife, which appears alike at variance with his office and disposition.

Among the many acts of personal bravery, which were witnessed in the course of that day, the following is deserving of special mention; as it is alike indicative of great courage, as well as of affectionate attachment on the part of a soldier, towards his commanding officer. In the engagement near the Rothenberg, a General officer, being seriously wounded, was left lying on the field unobserved, and without receiving immediate assistance. He was, at last, seen by a soldier of his battalion, named Meier, who approaching, under a shower of balls, for the purpose of removing the wounded officer, was struck by four bullets; two piercing his shako, the third snapping the strap of his havresack, and the fourth hitting the hilt of his sword. He persevered, however, undauntedly in his courageous and humane act, and succeeded finally in his endeavour.

It is a pleasing task to record such deeds of kindness and generosity, forming as they do, a fine relief to the darker and more repulsive features of the human character. But we must recur, for a moment, to scenes of a different and more painful nature. It has already been noticed, that, while the action at Gis-

likon was being fought, an engagement took place, at the same time, in the Entlibuch; between the Bernese-reserve, under Colonel Ochsenbein, and a column of the Sonderbund-troops. And it appears from the best sources of information and the voice of uncontradicted testimony; that the former, on their march through the Entlibuch and after the conflict of Schüpfheim, committed great excesses and many acts of cruelty. Not only were several houses plundered and burnt down to the ground; but, it is related, that, in one instance, the inmates, attempting to escape from the conflagration, were driven back by the soldiers, at the point of the bayonet and perished in the flames. It was here, where about two years before this time, the Bernese, engaged then in the Free-Corps expeditions, had been very roughly handled by the peasantry; and it is not in human nature, generally speaking, to lay aside and to stifle feelings of vindictiveness, but rather to avenge real or supposed wrongs. Hence those soldiers, on the present occasion, gave place to the worst of passions; and wreaked their vengeance, indiscriminately, on the inhabitants of the district. But even amid those scenes of cruelty, a noble instance of humanity occurred, which is worthy of notice. In one of the houses that had been set on fire, a woman who had been recently confined, was left with her infant, without the means of escape; but a medical officer, being informed of the

fact, and braving the fury both of the fire and of the soldiers, rushed into the flames and saved the mother with the babe.

But we must pass on to scenes of a less painful nature, and turn towards Lucerne. The picture which that town presented, on Wednesday, 24th November, the day when the Federal troops entered, beggars all description; and would well have deserved the best attention of the most gifted of artists, for the exertion of his genius, in producing a representation upon canvass. To think of the intense and extraordinary excitement, the ever-increasing commotion, anxiety, alarm and tumult — the thousands of women and children who had fled for refuge into the town, on the approach of the troops, and were to be seen standing in every corner, trembling and calling upon all the saints for protection and deliverance — and again bands of flying soldiers of all arms, intermingled with the broken Landsturm with their scythes and grotesque accoutrement; and among whom moved also groups of affrighted priests and monks, with alarmed officials, fleeing as it were for their lives — and to which must be added the triumphant entrance of the Federal army of 24,000 men, beside the 16,000 that remained in the suburbs — the acclamations — the shouts of welcome — the waving of flags and banners from almost every window — the beating of the drums — the clanging of the trumpets — the music of the military

bands — the rolling of the cannon and munition wag-gons along the streets — the neighing of the horses — the hum of the soldiery — the gay uniforms — all this, produced a combination of objects so varied and multiform both in sound as well as in sight — as to exceed, if not the power of imagination, but, at least that of description.

It were superfluous to offer here any particular description of the town of Lucerne, which is, otherwise, so well known to most travellers in Switzerland; and described in all the popular guide-books. But it may be useful to those, who wish to visit the spots where the principal engagements occurred, to mention; that the readiest approach is from the town of Zug to Cham, a fine and picturesque village at the northern extremity of that lake. From that place the traveller may pursue the line of road, on which Gmür's Division moved, on 23rd November, to attack and drive the enemy from the Rothenberg; and visit the village of Meyerskappel, where an obstinate engagement took place, as well as the Kiemen, and from thence proceed, in a Westerly direction to Honau, Gislikon, the bridge near the last village, across the Reuss; and thence to Roth, where a great part of the Federal army bivouacked the night before it entered the town of Lucerne.

The submission of Lucerne was speedily followed by that of the cantons of Unterwalden, Schwytz, Uri

and lastly the Valais; each of which was now occupied by Federal troops, a new government was installed, a new order of things introduced; and the like resolutions were every where adopted, namely, to renounce the Sonderbund and to banish the Jesuits in perpetuity, from the territory. In the canton of the Valais, however, other resolutions were added; arising out of the particular circumstances of that State. Here the privileges of the Church of Rome and her clergy had hitherto been most extensive and peculiar; the priesthood being subject to a special jurisdiction for their persons, and enjoying immunity from taxation as to their properties, in a manner more suitable to the middle ages than to the present century. These exemptions and immunities were now abolished; ecclesiastical property and endowments placed under the control, and, in case of need, under the administration of the civil government; and those monastic establishments were to be suppressed, whose existence can be shown to be incompatible with public order and tranquillity. It was resolved also, that the expenses of the war should be borne by those convents and ecclesiastical persons who had been instrumental in its instigation and prosecution; and who had abetted and encouraged it publicly from the pulpit. And here we may record one of the most remarkable occurrences, which did happen in connection with the defeat of the Sonderbund, or Roman Catholic party.

Perhaps, in itself, the event is of little moment, except as an indication of the public feeling and tendency of the age.

When the issue of the Swiss-contest became known in Rome, a strong feeling of sympathy was manifested in behalf of the radical triumph. On the evening of 3rd December, a vast multitude of the Roman populace — bearing torch-lights and banners, and preceded by a band of music — walked in procession, from the Piazza del Popolo across the Corso, to the house of the Swiss Consul; to offer him an address of congratulation, on the victory which had been gained over the Sonderbund, and the successful termination of the war. During the procession, the shouts and exclamations of the multitude made it very plain, what was the real significancy of the demonstration — that of hatred of the Jesuit- or Ultra-catholic-party, — and joy at its downfall in Switzerland.

The Pope, however, — liberal as he is, or pretends to be — considered the manifestation as too great a scandal to let it pass over without notice; and, accordingly, he directed a criminal prosecution to be instituted against the authors, and ordained, moreover, penitentiary prayers to be offered in the Churches for three consecutive days. Beside, the Court- or official Journal was made to publish the following statement: »The Papal government, having conceded the liberty of the press, will not permit that privilege

to be so abused, as to have it turned into an instrument of attack of the sacred cause of religion. We are afflicted at the manner in which several journals have taken the part of the Radicals in Switzerland; without remembering that it was as much a religious as a political war, and a victory achieved over the Catholic religion. The Holy Father, who loves all Catholics from the bottom of his heart, has been much grieved to observe; that, in the metropolis of the Catholic world, some persons have expressed feelings of triumph at the misfortunes that have befallen its children in other lands.«

And, doubtless, the Pope, to be consistent, is so far right; the scandal, or the absurdity was certainly too great — to think of the Catholics of the city of Rome celebrating the triumph which the Protestant Radicals of Switzerland gained over a section of their Church! What! has Rome ceased to be Rome? Whither is the tide of the times driving us?

In retracing, however, our steps from Rome to Switzerland, we have to notice next, some of the most proximate events, consequent on the extinction of the Sonderbund. It appears, that, in none of the cantons did the public fermentation subside more rapidly, than in that of Unterwalden; which was the first — and a very few days after its occupation by the Federal troops — that paid its quota of the assessed war-expenses, and whence the military were speedily with-

drawn. Moreover, its soldiery, while engaged on the side of the Sonderbund, are represented as having distinguished themselves, above the rest, by their bravery and discipline, in the field, and by their orderly and good conduct, on their return home. In short, that canton resumed in a very short time, its usual state of order and peace; as if nothing extraordinary had happened of late. In this respect, Unterwalden presented a striking contrast to the neighbouring canton of Lucerne; which continued, after its occupation by the Federal troops, in a state of considerable agitation and disturbance, chiefly created by the fanaticism of some of its priesthood. This appears clearly and unequivocally set forth in the following rescript addressed, at the beginning of the month of December, by the provisional government of Lucerne, to the Bishop of Basle, under whose jurisdiction the clergy of that canton are placed; and which we produce *in extenso*, as it does great credit to its authors.

It is to the following effect: »We have occasion, Mylord Bishop, immediately on entering upon our official career, to give you proof of our earnest and sincere desire to further the usefulness of our parochial clergy, in all matters connected with the interests of the Church and religion; and of our anxiety, to assist, on the one hand in upholding and protecting those interests; while, on the other hand, we are equally determined to discourage all attempts and pro-

ceedings to their prejudice and detriment. It is to be presumed, that you have not been informed for some years past, of the conduct of some of the clergy in our Canton. Many, it would seem, have entirely disregarded the monition, which you caused to be addressed to them, on 14th November 1844 by your Commissary, the Revd. M. Waldis, and which is to the following effect: 'If the clergy, forgetful of their high position and sacred calling, suffer themselves to be carried away by political party-spirit or feeling; they will be sure, not only to forfeit the esteem and confidence of their flocks, but to contribute, in a great measure, to the nameless miseries, which, with rapid strides, will visit our beautiful native land.' — Unhappily, the parochial clergy of the Canton — with some noble exceptions — have, for some years past, displayed such party-spirit. Those sacred localities which are set apart and intended for the exposition of the benign doctrines of the Gospel, and the everlasting truths of the Catholic Church; have been prostituted to the discussion of the political topics of the day; and thus, the deluded people, deceived by every kind of falsehood, have been driven to paths which are sure to lead them to evil and mischief. The word of peace was rarely to be heard in our Churches, and those ministers who still ventured to publish it, were exposed to considerable persecution. And thus the words of your Commissary received almost a prophetic ac-

complishment. Those priests who were foremost in exciting the people, were also the first, coward-like, to leave, as hirelings, in the hour of danger, their flocks; and to show, that they cared little for the ruin they brought upon the people — little for the misery of those wives, mothers and children, whose husbands, sons and fathers, they were instrumental in sacrificing — if they only who have deluded the multitude escaped unscathed.«

»But even, at this time, many of those clergymen appear determined to continue the work of agitation; though they behold a melancholy fulfilment of the words of M. Waldis; who predicted that they would lose the people's confidence. And thus it was, that the parishioners of Knutwyl themselves arrested their priest, who, on his return from his flight, could not refrain again to deliver, on Sunday last, a most exciting political Sermon. And the same fate befel likewise the priest of the parish of Winikon, who attempted to inflame the people's mind afresh. We have ordered these gentlemen to be kept, for the present, in confinement at the convent of the Capucines.«

»It behoves us to state also, that the parish-priest of the village of Hasle, has, by this time, been made to feel the consequences of his unworthy and unclerical conduct, which he has pursued for some years past; in that his congregation, at a parish-meeting held in the Church on Sunday last — and, according

to the rights which they possess — pronounced his dismissal, and utterly discarded him. We shall do our best in instituting a strict inquiry into all these cases; and while we are firmly determined to put down all political agitation and disorders, we are equally ready and willing to afford to your Lordship, our best assistance in promoting every necessary measure for the good of the Church. And we feel thoroughly persuaded, that the religious interests of the people and those of the Church are most effectually promoted; when the Bishop, in whom we have every confidence, adopts the best possible means, whereby his clergy — animated by his spirit and the spirit of Jesus Christ — are made to labour, in their respective spheres, for the cultivation of social order, obedience, and christian charity. It will afford us the greatest satisfaction, to co-operate, for the attainment of this great object, with your Lordship, in every possible way; and thus to show, that, while we are determined to uphold — as far as lies in our power — the Catholic faith and the principle of virtue, we shall equally labour for the suppression of the spirit of agitation and fanaticism.« *)

*) It is scarcely possible to read the above excellent address, without being immediately reminded of the conduct, or rather misconduct, of the Roman Catholic priesthood of another country, which is so closely and intimately connected with England; and in respect to

It admits, indeed, of no doubt, that, for a considerable time past, the population of Lucerne and of the other Sonderbund-cantons, more or less, had been excited and wrought upon by the most inflammatory harangues, which their priests addressed to them, week after week, from the altar and the pulpit. The most revolting representations were given of the designs of the Liberal majority, or ruling party; and the Protestants, in general, were described as akin to infidels, revolutionists and anarchists. The Reformed creed was painted in the worst and darkest colours; and every species of insult was heaped upon the Protestant Church. At the same time the people were exhorted, by the fears and hopes of the world that now is and that which is to come, to fight to the death — and thus to win the crown of martyrdom — for the faith of their fathers and that of the holy Catholic Church, out of whose pale there was no salvation; and which was now in imminent danger of being subverted in the land. Beside, the most abundant as-

whom, unhappily, the like complaints might be, and indeed, are constantly preferred. With the example of England and Ireland, Holland and Belgium, and the two sections of Switzerland, before us, it would appear that the Romish priesthood, labours seditiously, every where alike, for the subversion of any Protestant government, whatever be its particular constitution, with which they stand directly or remotely in relationship.

surances were given of certain and ultimate success, by the miraculous and personal interposition of the Virgin Mary; who, the people were gravely told, would come to the rescue in the hour of danger.

And this fact may help us, partly, to account for what has been regarded by many a point of considerable difficulty; namely, the feeble resistance which the Sonderbund ultimately offered and its easy and rapid submission; after the formidable military preparations that had been made by its leaders and the stout language of defiance which they had hurled, to the last, at the Diet. It was hence expected and even foretold, that the world would again see that stern, fanatical, and unconquerable resistance which had been witnessed in the two preceding religious wars, and which ensanguined the hills of Zurich and Argovie. But the truth is, that, in the 19th century, superstition and religious fanaticism are no longer possessed of the charm and extraordinary power, which they once wielded with such success over the minds of men, when opposed to an overwhelming physical force. And, therefore, all the expedients which priest-craft and superstition had called to their aid — all the consecrated banners — and all the rosaries, and medals, and amulets wherewith the soldiers had been equipped — told for nothing; and failed in the hour of conflict, to inspire with confidence and to animate to deeds of heroism and bravery. On the contrary, the soldiers of the

primitive and smaller cantons, on whose courage and perseverance the greatest reliance had been placed, discovering, how they had been deceived by their priests and leaders — that no miracles were wrought, that the amulets proved no protection against bullets, and that the Virgin Mary did not appear in person to interpose in their behalf — were the first to become dispirited, and, in some instances even mutinous, and gave up their cause for lost.

But doubtless, the principal cause which led to the speedy and almost ignominious submission of the League, is to be looked for in the absence of foreign aid — the Legions of France and Austria; — whose effectual support, it is evident, was expected to the last. It is not possible to conceive, that men, otherwise so able and acute as M. Siegwart-Müller, M. Fournier, and von Courten, would have gone the length of throwing down the gauntlet of defiance to the Diet, and engage in a contest so unequal, if they had not made sure of an armed intervention.*) If

*) Colonel Maillardoz, in the letter which he published, in vindication of his conduct in the surrender of Friburg, without any resistance, makes the following remarks: „If history should raise against me a sentence of reproach, in that, in self-defence, I did not sacrifice the Canton, the town and the population, it might, perhaps, be shown, that the blame is rather to be ascribed to the government, who had involved the coun-

any doubt remained on this subject, it is fully removed by the correspondence which took place between M. de Kaisersfeld, the Austrian Ambassador, and M. Siegwart-Müller. The former, after he had retired from his post in Switzerland, at the beginning of November, wrote to the latter, from Bregenz on 11th of that month, to say, that his Court sympathised with the Sonderbund, acknowledged its rightful position and attitude; that it was fully justified in the war of resistance it had undertaken against the majority of the Diet, and that all the responsibility and consequences of the contest rested upon that Assembly. In answer to this, Siegwart-Müller addressed the following communication to the Austrian Ambassador:

»Your Excellency!«

»Lucerne 15th November 1847.«

»We observe with much pleasure, by your letter, dated 11th of this month, that H. M. the Emperor, recognises and approves of the attitude which the 7 Cantons have assumed; and exonerates them from all share in the evil consequences that may result to the country from such attitude. And, in offering, in be-

try in a war, without the necessary means of sustaining it. The error, which both the government and myself committed, consists in the fact, that we did not perceive till the last moment, that we had undertaken a task, which was utterly above our powers.«

half of the 7 Cantons, our warmest gratitude for this recognition, we cannot refrain from repeating the observation, which we took the liberty to offer to your Excellency, in our communication, dated 13th instant, namely, that the powerful Empire of Austria, in consequence of her recognition of our rightful position, would not fail to adopt, without loss of time, those measures, which are fitted to protect us against the threatening oppression, and, at the same time, to support us in the rightful attitude which we have assumed.«

Signed Siegwart-Müller, in behalf of the Council
of war of the seven Cantons.

It is barely possible to mistake the meaning of the concluding expressions of the foregoing missive. The only „measures fitted to protect the Sonderbund against the threatening oppression, and at the same time, to support it in its rightful attitude«, could be none other than an armed intervention. And, indeed, it was loudly and confidently proclaimed by some of the Diplomats, when the Diet met in October, that, if the executionary decree be issued, a foreign army would, at once, advance into Switzerland. And that it was intended, both on the part of France and Austria to interfere in behalf of the Sonderbund by force of arms, can scarcely be doubted from all that has transpired since the termination of the war; and from all that is known of the proceedings of those governments and

their Ambassadors in Switzerland. The assistance which both France and Austria have rendered the Sonderbund, by the supply of arms and ammunition, is well known. A present of 3000 muskets was sent to Lucerne by the Austrian government; and France provided arms of all description from the arsenals of Strasburg and Besançon. At Lucerne, eight cannons were found, bearing the initials of the French king and the royal crown. It was this proceeding of the the French government, furnishing arms to the Sonderbund, which called forth, repeatedly, the withering animadversions of the Opposition press of that country. Thus the *Siecle* of 22nd November contains the following remarks, upon this subject: »It is said“, by the government „that men are fighting, are killing each other, perhaps, at the present time, in twenty different places, and we are only at the beginning of this monstrous struggle. No doubt this war is monstrous and impious, but who gave birth to it and nourished it? What did our government do to prevent it? Or rather what did it not do to render it inevitable? Can any one forget the frivolous chicanery which our Ambassador raised at every moment, as if he wanted to wear out the patience of the Directory and bring on a rupture at every price. When, some months back the Minister of Foreign affairs, denounced from the tribune of the Chamber of Peers, to the resentment of Europe, the pretended excesses of the Helvetic demo-

cracy; did he suppose that he could calm down the Radicals by calumniating them? 'Men are fighting, men are killing each other' you say, with a hypocritical grief, or, at least, with a very tardy compassion. But add, that they are fighting with the cannon which you yourself sent them. Add to their cries of triumph and of distress which reaches from the field of battle, the conquerors and the conquered mix their imprecations together against you. These wounds — this courage shock your humanity and appear to excite your surprise. Why did you then send muskets clandestinely across? Why such interloping intervention, so worthy of your loyalty and your courage? To what use did you destine those arms and this ammunition? Did you imagine that they would serve to form only trophies of peace at Lucerne and Friburg? It is truly full time to fly at present like an incendiary caught in the fact, and who endeavours to hide from every eye the burning torch which he still holds in his hands.

It must be admitted by all impartial and unprejudiced individuals — whatever be their political views and opinions — that there is great force and all the power of truth in the foregoing remarks; in reference to the policy pursued by the French government and the conduct of its Ambassador, towards the Swiss Directory and Diet. The Conservatives must, and will thus far agree with the Radicals, that the venomous and exasperating attacks which the French Foreign

Secretary constantly directed through his organ the *Journal des Debats*, against the ruling party in Switzerland, were most aggravating and inflammatory, coupled with the personal proceedings of M. Bois-le-Comte, the French Ambassador. That functionary set up the doctrine, that he was not accredited to the Executive government — to the Vorort — of Switzerland, but to every separate State; and, accordingly for a considerable time past, he opened communications — by personal visits as well as by epistles — not only with all the Sonderbund-cantons but with others also — such as St. Gall and the Grisons — where he hoped to create a demonstration in favour of the League. Last summer he repeatedly visited Coire, St. Gall, Lucerne and the smaller cantons; and stirred up, as it is well known, the Ultramontane-party to the most inflexible and even insolent resistance to the majority in the Diet. His more recent exploit is still fresh in the recollection of the public. After the fall of Friburg, M. Bois-le-Comte wished to send one of the Secretaries of the Embassy, to enter into communication with the government of Lucerne; but a safe-conduct being refused him by General Dufour, he addressed the following letter to that officer, dated Berne 17th November 1847.

» General! I have received the letter you have done me the honour to write to me, under date of 16th, by which you announce to me, that you cannot give

me the safe-conduct which I had demanded of you, for one of the Secretaries of the Embassy whom I had intended to send to Lucerne. I regret the more the refusal, from its placing me under the necessity of leaving Berne. Not only can I not admit, in any case, whatsoever a principle which would cut off a determined number of cantons from the number of Sovereign cantons to which I am accredited, and which would suspend therein the effects of my power and protection over the French; but I see Switzerland divided into two armed camps which are combating against each other; and, if I continued to remain in one, after the liberty of my communications with the other has been officially refused, I should expose myself to have inferences drawn therefrom, which I must prevent by my departure. Yielding to these considerations, I count on leaving Berne in the course of the day, to proceed to one of the cantons, which have abstained from taking part in the votes from which this unhappy war has arisen. I remain &c.

Comte de Bois-le-Comte.«

This proceeding and the Ambassador's retirement from Berne to Basle, called forth the following remarks of a French Opposition Journal, which appear very forcible and much to the point.

The *Constitutional* of 22nd November contains the succeeding observations: „We cannot in fact, comprehend the conduct, which M. Bois-le-Comte is made to

exhibit in Switzerland. What had he to do with a government, which the organs of our ministry do not cease to load with the grossest insults and the most odious calumnies? What relation was he keeping up with the Vorort and the Diet, since M. Guizot, violating the law of nations, fraudulently introduced arms and ammunition into the canton of Friburg, when in revolt against the Vorort and the Diet? What attitude could M. Bois-le-Comte assume in a country into which the French government has just introduced civil war, by the support given to a powerless and rebellious minority? In order to be consistent, it was to Lucerne that our ministry ought to have sent an Ambassador, in place of keeping him at Berne. We know well that the cannon were furnished to Friburg in order to please Austria; and that M. Bois-le-Comte was kept at Berne in order not to offend too much the opinion of the French Chambers. But what was the appearance which the double game of his government gave to M. Bois-le-Comte? He appeared to be a spy in the enemy's camp, an agent of division and discord in the midst of an independent nation; a foreign conspirator invested with inviolability. Besides, is not the avowed cause of his withdrawal a truly extraordinary one? He, the Ambassador of the government which sent muskets to Friburg, wanted to send a Secretary of embassy to Lucerne! General Dufour, a very moderate Liberal, but an honest man,

and devoted to his duty and his country, found the proceeding suspicious, and refused the safe-conduct demanded. We ask what man of common sense, what French General in his place would have acted otherwise? Was it not the duty of our Ambassador, since he remained at Berne, to abstain absolutely from any step that might compromise him; and to await the termination of the civil war in the most complete neutrality? We may add that the cause alleged for the refusal was not the only one. We believe, that we are perfectly well informed, when we say, that among the letters seized by the government of Berne on the agents of the Sonderbund, there were several which proved the bad faith of the French Minister towards Switzerland, or, at least, which gravely compromised the Legation; and this was precisely the reason given by General Dufour to M. Bois-le-Comte as a motive for refusing the safe-conduct. *) The Vorort, certainly has not failed to complain to the French ministry of

*) The *Constitutional* here refers to the correspondence found upon the person of the cook of the convent of St. Urban — a Lucernese monastery close upon the border of the canton of Berne — who, being suspected and seized, was found to bear dispatches, amongst which a letter from the Council of war of the Sonderbund, sitting at Lucerne. This letter was addressed to the government of Friburg to which it was to be forwarded, through the agency of M. Stettler of Berne, advocate,

the proceedings of the government and embassy of France towards Switzerland. There was, therefore, in the situation of M. Bois-le-Comte every possible motive for his withdrawing. Thus we have made two parties of the Swiss cantons; we have urged on the one party consisting of those who are the eternal friends of the powers hostile to France, to revolt and to subsequent defeat; and we have separated ourselves for a long time from the others, who, however, were our natural friends, and the defenders of our frontiers. Such is the patriotic and intelligent work which M. Guizot has just concluded."

The *National*, on the same subject remarks as follows :

"Did M. Bois-le-Comte hope to be able to re-establish at Lucerne the intrigue which failed so miserably at Friburg. We suppose it, without fear of expressing a rash judgment; and, as this time he had no French pupils to go and seek, the Vorort was only prudent in not acceding to this new journey, the utility of which it did not perceive. The truth which was no doubt

who had already been in custody; or, in order that it might reach its destination by a surer way, he was recommended to *leave it at the office of the French Embassy*. In the intercepted letter, the Council of war of the Sonderbund explained the plans of attack of General Dufour, which they declared had come to their knowledge.

known at Berne, as it is here, is, that our Minister was in the way of settling with Austria, Prussia, Russia, and perhaps England, a fine project of mediation; and that M. Bois-le-Comte desired simply to advise the Lucernese to hold out as long as possible, in order to give the diplomacy of the great powers time to act. But it is written that, in this affair diplomacy shall play a ridiculous part from one end to the other. All its ability has failed miserably against some men strong in their good right, united, and resolute."

We have the more been led to the production of the preceding articles, as they are really and accurately descriptive of the French line of policy pursued towards Switzerland; and to which we have had occasion to refer before. For months past, M. Guizot, and the Journals upholding his policy, did their utmost, by their insulting and denunciatory diatribes, on the one hand, to irritate and exasperate the radical, or ruling party; and, by the praise which they lavished on, and the actual support they afforded to the Sonderbund, on the other hand, to stir up that faction to continued resistance. While the *Journal des Debats* was made to say „that, for the Ambassador of France, the present Vorort had never been the representative of legal Switzerland,“ M. Bois-le-Comte, giving practical force to the announcement, entered into diplomatic relations with the governments of Lucerne and Friburg; and did all in his power to show his

contempt of the Federal Directory. So that it may be said, that to France belongs, in a great measure, the credit of having kindled the flames of the late civil war. Its agency was employed, on the one hand, to provoke and excite one of the parties to the combat; while, on the other hand, it distributed weapons to the other party, for the fight. Even after the surrender of Lucerne, it seems, that, if the remnant of the League had followed the counsel of their French champions, the struggle would have been protracted; and the cannon would have done its destructive work amid the mountain-passes of Uri and Unterwalden. Nothing, indeed, were easier to show, than that if it had not been for France — in concert with Austria — yielding their support to, and giving their promises of an armed intervention in favor of the Sonderbund; its leaders would never have been allured into a contest, for which they know well that single-handed they were unequal.

And now, when the war had actually broken out, M. Guizot, modifying his policy somewhat; succeeded in moving the great European powers, to a diplomatic intervention. Without pretending to any particular acquaintance with the order and march of politics, but judging simply from what lies on the surface of things, and from the deductions of common sense; it seems to us very strange, that the French Minister should have delayed his efforts to effect a combined

diplomatic intervention, till the time for such was gone by. Supposing, that M. Guizot dreaded, from the proceedings of the Diet, in the month of July, the preponderance of the radical party; wherefore did he wait, with his intervention, till the month of November, when that preponderance was backed by 100,000 bayonets? It must have been pretty obvious in the month of July already, from the then preponderating power of the Radicals, what was likely to happen, sooner or later, if that power be not curbed and held in check.

If it must be owned, then, that M. Guizot's time for an intervention was ill-chosen; we believe, that it must be admitted too, that the ground on which he rests its paramount necessity, is equally ill-founded. M. Guizot appears to be perpetually haunted by the fear of a subversion of the Federal Pact, and a consequent disarrangement of the treaty of Vienna, which might go to affect the political relations of Switzerland with the neighbouring nations. It is laid as a charge against the parties now in power, that it is their intention to alter the fundamental bases, of the political organisation of the country; by sweeping away the sovereignty and independence of the separate cantons; and blending the whole of Switzerland into one indivisible republic. And, such project being in disaccord with the stipulations of the treaty of Vienna, which guarantee to Switzerland all her present political ad-

vantages, on the sole condition of the continuance of the present order of things; M. Guizot, therefore, contends, that the guaranteeing Powers are fully authorised to interpose to prevent the meditated change.

But it may be objected, in the first place, that a constant appeal to the inviolability of the Treaty of Vienna, comes with an ill-grace from the Minister of the French revolutionary government of 1830, which, in itself, is a proof, that the Treaty in question is not altogether »a law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not.« Nor is it an isolated proof; as there are yet others to show, with what little binding force and power of obligation that Treaty is still invested; witness for instance, the revolution of September in Belgium — the changes of Dynasty in Spain and Portugal — the disorganisation of the new Kingdom of Poland — the annihilation of the Republic of Cracow — and lastly, the recent occupation of Modena and Parma by the Austrians; a measure, which M. Guizot has just pronounced in the French Chambers, to be »irregular,« but not worth the while of provoking a war with Austria.

And it may be objected too, in the second place, that there is really no ground for M. Guizot's assumption, that an intention exists, in some quarters, to subvert the cantonal independence throughout Switzerland; and to transfer all the power and authority of the land, to one central and united Republic at Berne.

It must be very obvious to every one, in some measure, acquainted with the course of Swiss politics, that, whatever may be the topics on which the opposite parties differ; there is, at least, one point of agreement, common to all, and that is respect and preference for the cantonal sovereignty and independence. If there be one form of government more than another really unpopular in Switzerland, it is that of a central or unitary Republic. Both parties, the Radicals as well as the Conservatives, seem to cling with the most jealous tenacity to the independence of the separate cantons; and it is a remarkable fact, that, in all the different schemes that have been devised for the revision of the Pact, that particular institution formed invariably the basis. That which appears to lie nearest to the hearts of the Swiss people, is their cantonal and communal organisation. Indeed, what the cantons are mostly chargeable with, is a feeling of local selfishness, which governs every separate State; and leads it to consult and advance its own interests, irrespective, or even to the detriment of those of its neighbour, and the commonwealth at large. And yet, in the face of all this — and which may be observed by every foreigner residing in the country, and on which point M. Guizot may be supposed to be informed — that Minister perpetually declaims against the innovating attempts, on the part of the Radicals, to effect such a fundamental change in the

Federal Pact, by a destruction of the cantonal independence, as to call for an European intervention.

It might, perhaps, be worth the while of statesmen and politicians to consider, whether such an aggregation of minute sovereign States, be really well fitted for fulfilling all the ends of good government and the best purposes of society; or, whether these would not be furthered more effectually, by locally-chosen governing bodies, subordinate to one common centre. It would almost seem, as if most of the evils, which, of late years, have been afflicting Switzerland — all its divisions and dissensions, and even the recent civil war — are to be ascribed to, and found in the claims and interests of the separate cantonal governments clashing with each other, and with the commonwealth at large. Under its present constitution, Switzerland is made up of a combination of twenty five sovereign States, each independent of the other; and all, when united, independent of other States. Now, to guarantee the provisions of a constitution like this, is nothing less than to undertake the act of reconciling contradictions; to attempt bringing into harmony, union with division, and respect for independence with active interference. Let it be supposed, that two of the cantons disagree and quarrel together; it is then necessary, according to the present order of things, to protect the inviolability of each against the aggression of the other; but, at the same time,

it is also necessary, not to use any kind of interference with either, in any forcible way or manner. What else, then, may be expected, but constant confusion and dissension! Nothing can be more anomalous than a constitution like this; and more pregnant with danger than any other form of political government, by which it can be attempted to bind men together in social union. Were it then really a crime of such magnitude — assuming that the political leaders in Switzerland entertained the design imputed to them — that of bringing the cantonal independence more under the control of a central authority — as to call forth the invectives of M. Guizot, and his ill-concealed threats of an armed intervention?

There is, however, no fear of any such material change being made in the Federal Pact, as to weaken, or even to affect, to any great extent, the cantonal power and authority. All the national tendencies and opinions of the different political parties — possessed of any weight or influence in the country — are opposed to the curtailment of the independence of the separate cantons, and the introduction of a central government. That the Pact is to be revised is now a settled point. But to revise the Pact is one thing, and to create a unitary Republic is another. Still, few, or scarcely any persons will be found to deny the absolute necessity of creating a better and more efficient system of Executive power, than has hitherto

existed; and removing all the anomalous parts and relations of the constitution, which really endanger the peace of the country.

Thus it will be quite obvious, from all that has recently occurred, that, in the re-modelling of the Pact, one of the first objects of consideration must, of necessity, be the anomalous and disjointed position of the canton of Neufchatel, with reference to the rest of the Confederation. If one thing more than another contributed, during the late contest, to show the imperfect and unsound state of the present political institutions of Switzerland; it is, most assuredly, to be found in the extraordinary and unparalleled circumstances of Neufchatel. That territory partakes of the two-fold, and, at the same time, of the conflicting and irreconcilable attributes of a monarchical and a republican State. Its circumstances are briefly these. With the extinction of its native line of Sovereigns, by the death of Mary of Nemours, in the year 1707, Neufchatel passed under the sceptre of Prussia; and has continued ever since an appendage of that Power, excepting during the time of Napoleon's domination. By the arrangements, however, of the Treaty of Vienna, it assumed an additional political form and relationship; being incorporated, as one of the twenty two cantons, into the Swiss confederation. The Act of Union, sanctioned by the late King of Prussia, and dated London, 18th June 1814, is to the following effect:

Art. 1. »The Sovereign State of Neufchatel is admitted into the Swiss Confederation, in quality of a Canton. This admission takes place under the express condition, that the accomplishment of all the engagements which the State of Neufchatel contracts, as a member of the confederation — the participation of this State in the deliberation of the general affairs of Switzerland — and the ratification and execution of the decrees of the Diet; shall exclusively concern the government residing at Neufchatel, without requiring any ulterior ratification or sanction.«

Art. 2. »The canton of Neufchatel accedes to all the dispositions of the Federal Pact, to which it will be called to swear, like the other States of Switzerland.«

Thus, while that territory continued, on the one hand, a Principality, subject to the King of Prussia — who bears the title of Prince of Neufchatel and Valendis — and having certain elements of a monarchical form of government; it became, on the other hand, to all intents and purposes, a Swiss republican State, and bound up with democratical institutions. It is, therefore, not the least surprising, that out of such incongruous materials, nothing but confusion should arise. And this has been, actually, the result for a series of years past. So far as the canton of Neufchatel is concerned, every obstacle and impediment was put in the way of the Diet, to effect any real

reforms or improvements, demanded by the progressive tendencies of the age. On every important political question of a liberal complexion; Neufchatel stood invariably opposed to the views and opinions of the rest of the cantons. In some respects, it showed itself even more antiquated than Lucerne and the other Sonderbund-States. On reading over the proceedings of the Diet, for the last few years, and noticing the language and opinions expressed by the Deputy from Neufchatel; it is scarcely possible to help feeling, that he seemed to belong to another age and another generation. But, during the recent proceedings, in reference to the Sonderbund, the anomalous position of the canton of Neufchatel attained its climax. When that State was called upon, as a member of the Confederation, to supply its contingent to the Federal army, its government peremptorily refused compliance. And, on being threatened, by reason of its contumacy, with a military occupation of its territory, the King of Prussia stepped forward; declaring the Canton as neutral ground, and adding „that he would consider every violation of this neutrality as a rupture of peace and an act of hostility against himself.“

Now, it is difficult to discover any reasonable or justifiable ground of excuse or palliation for the procedure of both the canton of Neufchatel, and its Sovereign Prince, the King of Prussia. The former, in virtue of its obligations, as a member of the Confede-

ration — having, by the Act of Union, »acceded to all the dispositions of the Federal Pact;« — is clearly bound to obey all the calls and requirements of the highest Federal authority. To claim exemption, on the plea of neutrality, is subversive of all Federal obligation. The Pact is altogether silent on the topic of neutrality; it has no provisions for, and makes no mention of neutral cantons; nay, the very idea is at variance with the system of Federation. For, how were it possible for a Federal union of States to exist, if, on any great political emergency, room were left for its members, to occupy neutral ground and remain passive and effectless. All the important functions of the Commonwealth would, under such circumstances, become crippled and be made nugatory. It was, consequently, to say the least, most undignified on the part of Neufchatel, to resort to such an excuse for withholding its contingent.

Nor was it more dignified on the part of the Sovereign Prince of Neufchatel, to interfere in a transaction, which clearly came not within his province, according to the terms of the Act of Union, by which that State is recognised as a Swiss canton. That Act distinctly expresses »that the accomplishment of all the engagements which the State of Neufchatel contracts as a member of the Confederation — the participation of this State in the deliberation of the affairs of Switzerland — and *the ratification and execution of*

the decrees of the Diet, shall exclusively concern the government residing at Neufchatel, *without requiring any ulterior ratification or sanction.*« Such being the case, „the decrees of the Diet concerning only the government of Neufchatel, without ulterior ratification or sanction ;« it is hard to see, on what ground or plea the Prince of Neufchatel could rest his right to interpose in a matter, which was purely between the Diet and a member of the Confederation. That member was called upon, by the competent authority, to fulfil a Federal obligation, to which it stands pledged by all its solemn and sworn engagements ; and in default of which, it was threatened with a military occupation of its territory. But to screen it from the infliction, the King of Prussia comes forward ; declaring the Canton as neutral ground, and threatening the Confederation with hostilities, if the neutrality be violated. What Act or Treaty conferred this right upon the King of Prussia ? Are republican governments only to be called upon to respect Compacts or Treaties ; while Kings and Princes are at liberty to set them at defiance, and trample them into insignificance ? The manner in which this affair was ultimately compromised, by the payment of a fine of 300,000 francs, on the part of Neufchatel, is, in itself, a sufficient acknowledgment of its culpability and of having been in the wrong. But will not this anomalous position of Neufchatel — this festering sore in the side of the Confe-

deration — be the first object of consideration in the revision of the Pact ?*)

That undertaking — the re-construction of the Constitution — which is now in the course of execution — is a work, it must be confessed, of no ordinary difficulty and magnitude. When it is considered, how many conflicting interests, political and confessional that are to be consulted and brought into harmony — the variety of opinions and shades of differences that are to be reconciled — the stationary policy, the bigotry and intolerance, on the one hand; and the love of change and extreme notions of liberty, on the other hand — and above all the difficulty of so dealing with the spirit of cantonal egotism and independence, as to bring it into subordination of the central and Federal authority — when all this is considered; it appears all but hopeless to bring the matter to a successful issue. And yet, if these difficulties be not effectually

*) While this sheet is passing through the press, the local Journals have published the copy of the answer given by the Vorort to the diplomatic notes presented, on the 18th January, by France, Austria, and Prussia. That answer, which is drawn up in a spirit of great moderation — and elicited, on that account, the commendation and approval of the Conservative Deputy from Basle-town — was almost unanimously adopted by the Diet, with the exception of the Deputy from Neuchâtel, who, as usual, stood aloof.

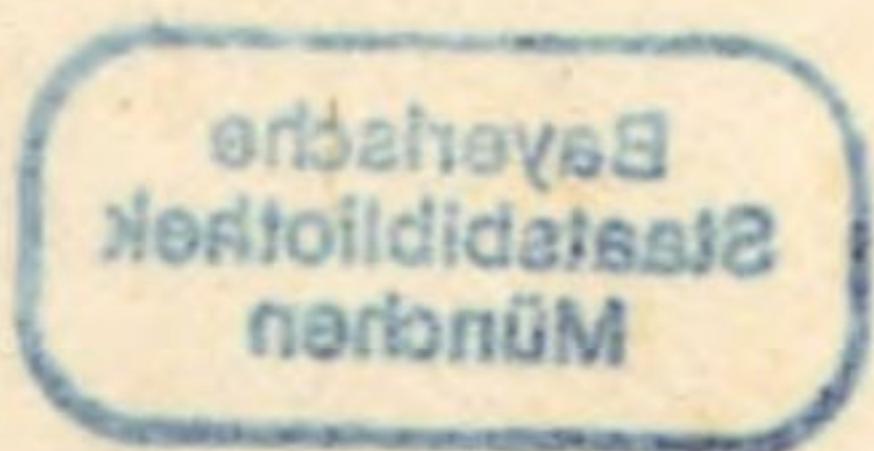
grappled with and adjusted, little or nothing will have been done for the permanent pacification of Switzerland; new dissensions and complications will speedily spring up, and become rife again in the land, to disturb its peace afresh. In truth, if a judgment were to be formed, from what has taken place of late, since the extinction of the Sonderbund, the future prospect appears, in no wise, very bright and promising. The great ends proposed by the late campaign, the expulsion of the Jesuits, and the subversion of the Sonderbund-governments were, to give peace to the country, and to extend and fix the principles of liberty on a sound and firm basis. Have these ends been promoted, even to a certain measure? Are the cantons, generally, enjoying a state of peace and tranquillity — and have the interests of civil and religious liberty been really advanced? — The daily occurrences supply a painful and negative answer to these questions. As yet, there are no indications of that spirit of moderation, that decree of amnesty, and those measures of conciliation which have been promised to Sir Stratford Canning, to be acted upon. On the contrary, there appears a growing disposition to rule by the law of persecution. Thus, the liberty of the press — one of the greatest privileges and marks of a free country and a free people — can scarcely be said to be tolerated any more in the country; when every free expression of opinion differing, from that of the ruling

party, is immediately crushed and persecuted. In the canton de Vaud, religious liberty has been entirely put down. In that State, a legislative measure has lately been adopted, by a majority of 64 to 38 votes, for the complete subversion of all religious worship, not in connection with the National Church. The avowed object of this measure is to extinguish all Protestant sects; who are now as much the object of persecution as the Jesuits were afore. A strange spectacle is thus presented to the civilised world, by the purest Protestant democracy in Europe — that of putting in force a law against Protestants, little less intolerant than the revocation of the edict of Nantes!

And if we turn, for an instant, to the Sonderbund-cantons, since the re-organisation of their governments; we behold the old and dark leaven of popish intolerance at work. The former laws of proscription against the exercise of public worship of the Reformed Church, and the acquirement of civil rights of Protestants in those cantons, have been re-enacted in all their ancient rigour. Some individuals have lately been arrested in those cantons, for committing the enormous crime of selling a few copies of the Bible. Talk of civil and religious liberty in Switzerland! — Professor Schönbein of Basle — who is well known as the inventor of the gun-cotton — has lately originated a proposal which is to effect a great moral explosion, that of blowing up the existing restrictions on the civil and

religious rights of his countrymen. He proposed in the Legislative Council of that town, that instructions be given to their Deputy, to labour — in the Committee appointed for the revision of the Pact — for the recognition of the principle; that every Swiss citizen shall henceforward be allowed the free exercise of his religious worship, and entitled to all civil rights in any part of the Confederation.

And in bringing our subject to a close, we would observe, in conclusion; that the best friends of liberty are they who reject the pretended benefits, which are purchased at the expense of justice and right; without being the more disposed to thwart or oppose the progress of rational reform, or improvement. In that middle course lies the only safe track, for those who are entrusted with the management of public affairs. An enlightened love of liberty, combined with sound principle, is an essential element of national prosperity and independence. It is the germ of civilisation, and one of the noblest and most appropriate accompaniments of genuine Christianity. When will Statesmen, and governments and nations learn, that without religion-without the fear of God — without the influence of the Gospel — there can be no real liberty, no permanent security, tranquillity, and order in any land. Milton, one of the greatest modern champions of liberty, felt with bitter disappointment and indignation the failure of his best endeavours to diffuse sound notions



of liberty among those, who did not know how to value or to enjoy it, when he exclaimed :

»But this is got by casting pearls to hogs
That bawl for freedom in their senseless moods
And still revolt, when truth would set them free.
Licence they mean, when they cry liberty;
But who loves that must first be wise and good;
But from that, mark how far they rove we see,
For all this waste of wealth and loss of blood.«

THE END.

of many things that he did not know how to
do, and he was very much surprised:

After this he was very much surprised to find
that the people in their common sense
and all sorts of things would not let them
know that they were very much surprised;
But who loves that more than he was and good;
But from that, now, how far they were so
For all this waste of wealth and loss of time.

THE END.

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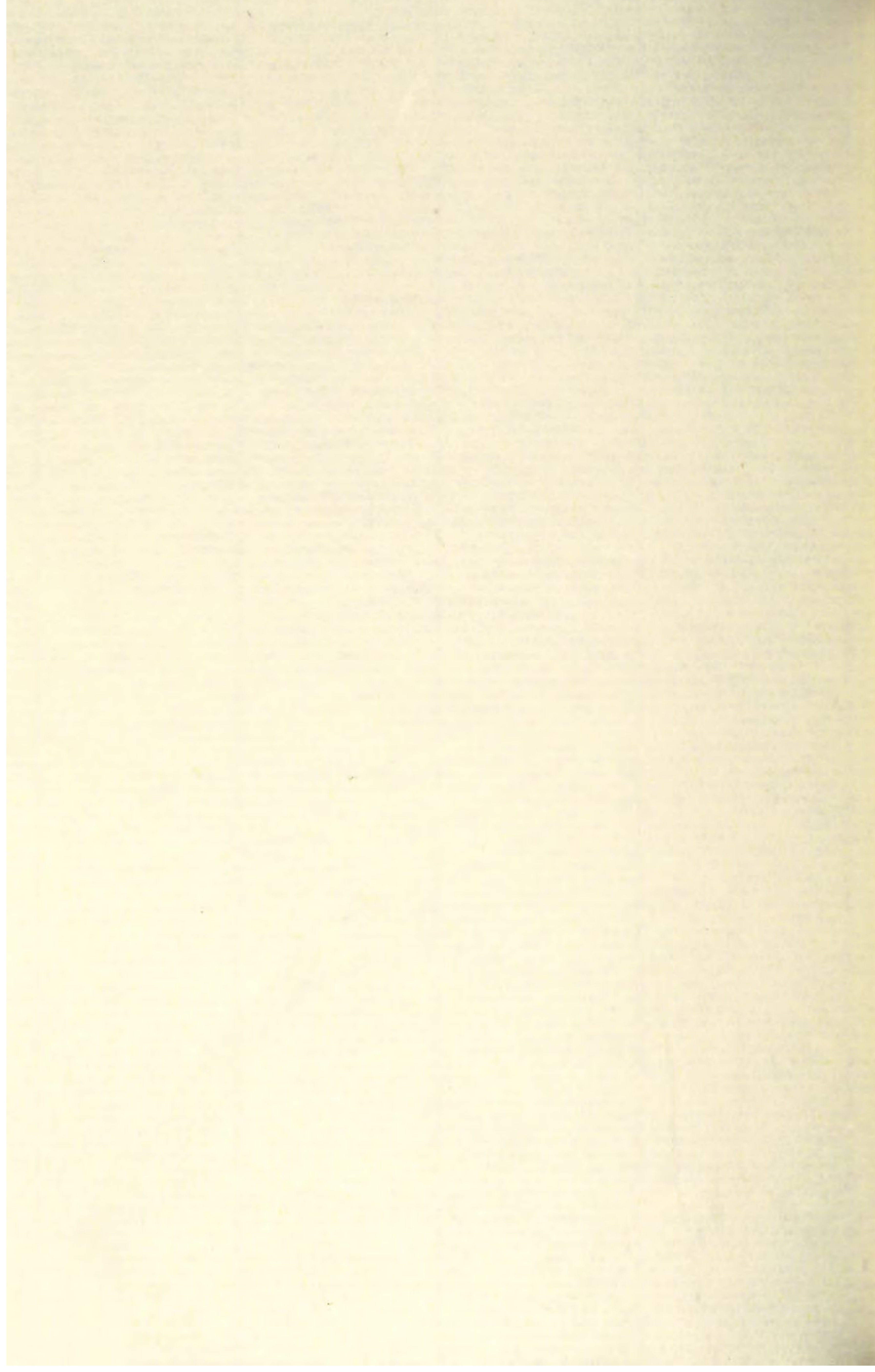
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